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A  
CRITICAL  
DISSERTATION  
ON THE  
POEMS of OSSIAN.  
THE  
SON of FINGAL.

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THE THIRD EDITION.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, containing a Variety of undoubted  
TESTIMONIES establishing their Authenticity.

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D U B L I N :

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## Advertisement.

SINCE the printing of the second Edition, Doctor Warner, published a pamphlet, entitled, *Remarks on the History of Fingal and other Poems of Ossian*. The Doctor it appears, is compiling a general history of Ireland, and is of opinion that Ossian, and the heroes he celebrates, were natives of that country. As he has advanced no argument to support so singular an opinion, I should have passed over his pamphlet in silence, had he not too precipitately accused me of a false quotation from O'Flaherty. I had said, in a note, on one of the lesser poems of Ossian, that *Fingal is celebrated by the Irish historians, for his wisdom in making laws, his poetical genius, and his fore-knowledge of events, and that O'Flaherty goes so far as to say, that Fingal's laws were extant, when he (O'Flaherty) wrote his Ogygia*. The Doctor denies that there is any such thing in O'Flaherty; and modestly quotes a passage from the same Author, which he supposes, I have misrepresented. I shall here give the whole paragraph, and the world will judge whether the Doctor has not been too hasty in his assertions. *Finnius ex Mornia filia Thaddæi, filius Cuballi, jurisprudentia, super qua scripta ejus hætenus extant, carminibus patriis, & ut quidam ferunt, prophetiis celeberrimus, qui ob egregia sua, & militiæ suæ, facinora uberrimam vulgo, & poetis comminiscendi materiem relinquens, a nulla ætate reticebitur.* Ogyg. p. 338.

As the Doctor founds his claim of Ossian and his heroes, on the authority of some obscure passages in Keating and O'Flaherty, what he says on the subject stands self-confuted. These writers neither meet with, nor deserve credit. Credulous and partial, they have altogether disgraced the antiquities they meant to establish. Without producing records or even following the ancient traditions of their coun-

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

country, they formed an ideal system of antiquity, from legends of modern invention. Sir James Ware, who was indefatigable in his researches, after the monuments of the Irish history, and had collected all the real, and pretendedly ancient manuscripts concerning the antiquity of his nation, rejects as mere fiction and romance, all that is said concerning the times before Saint Patrick, and the reign of Leogaire, in the fifth century. I shall transcribe the passage, for the benefit of those who are compiling the history of Ireland from the *earliest ages*, and at the same time, caution them, not to look upon the antiquities of that country, through the false mediums of Keating and O'Flaherty, *Per exiguam superesse notitiam rerum in Hibernia gestarum ante exortam ibi evangelii auroram liquido constat. Neque me latet a viris nonnullis doctis pleraque quæ de antiquioribus illis temporibus ante S. Patricii in Hyberniam adventum traduntur, tanquam fragmenta esse explosa. Notandum quidem descriptiones fere omnium quæ de illis temporibus (antiquioribus dico) extant, opera esse posteriorum seculorum.*

Waræus de antiq. Præf. p. 1.

I must observe that the Doctor's claiming Ossian's poems (p. 8.) *in forma pauperis*, not only invalidates his cause, but is also no very genteel compliment to the Irish nation. I am far from being of his opinion, that, that nation can produce no monument of genius, but the works of Ossian, should these be tacitly ceded to them. On the contrary, I am convinced that Ireland has produced men of great and distinguished abilities, which, notwithstanding the Doctor's present opinion, I hope, will appear from his own history, even though he, confessedly, does not understand the language, or ancient records of that country.

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A CRITICAL  
DISSERTATION  
ON THE  
POEMS OF OSSIAN,  
THE  
SON OF FINGAL.

AMONG the monuments remaining of the antient state of nations, few are more valuable than their poems or songs. History, when it treats of remote and dark ages, is seldom very instructive. The beginnings of society, in every country, are involved in fabulous confusion; and though they were not, they would furnish few events worth recording. But, in every period of society, human manners are a curious spectacle; and the most natural pictures of antient manners are exhibited in the antient poems of nations. These present to us, what is much more valuable than the history of such transactions as a rude age can afford, The history of human imagination and passion. They make us acquainted with the notions and feelings of our fellow-creatures in the most artless ages; discovering what objects they admired, and what pleasures they pursued, before those refinements of society had taken place, which enlarge indeed, and diversify the transactions, but disguise the manners of mankind.

Besides this merit, which ancient poems have with philosophical observers of human nature, they

have another with persons of taste. They promise some of the highest beauties of poetical writing. Irregular and unpolished we may expect the productions of uncultivated ages to be; but abounding, at the same time, with that enthusiasm, that vehemence and fire, which are the soul of poetry. For many circumstances of those times which we call barbarous, are favourable to the poetical spirit. That state, in which human nature shoots wild and free, though unfit for other improvements, certainly encourages the high exertions of fancy and passion.

In the infancy of societies, men live scattered and dispersed, in the midst of solitary rural scenes, where the beauties of nature are their chief entertainment. They meet with many objects, to them new and strange; their wonder and surprize are frequently excited; and by the sudden changes of fortune occurring in their unsettled state of life, their passions are raised to the utmost. Their passions have nothing to restrain them: their imagination has nothing to check it. They display themselves to one another without disguise: and converse and act in the uncovered simplicity of nature. As their feelings are strong, so their language, of itself, assumes a poetical turn. Prone to exaggerate, they describe every thing in the strongest colours; which of course renders their speech picturesque and figurative. Figurative language owes its rise chiefly to two causes; to the want of proper names for objects, and to the influence of imagination and passion over the form of expression. Both these causes concur in the infancy of society. Figures are commonly considered as artificial modes of speech, devised by orators and poets, after the world had advanced to a refined state. The contrary of this is the truth. Men never have used so many

many figures of style, as in those rude ages, when, besides the power of a warm imagination to suggest lively images, the want of proper and precise terms for the ideas they would express, obliged them to have recourse to circumlocution, metaphor, comparison, and all those substituted forms of expression, which give a poetical air to language.

An American chief, at this day, harangues at the head of his tribe, in a more bold metaphorical style, than a modern European would adventure to use in an Epic poem.

In the progress of society, the genius and manners of men undergo a change more favourable to accuracy than to sprightliness and sublimity. As the world advances, the understanding gains ground upon the imagination; the understanding is more exercised; the imagination, less. Fewer objects occur that are new or surprizing. Men apply themselves to trace the causes of things; they correct and refine one another; they subdue or disguise their passions; they form their exterior manners upon one uniform standard of politeness and civility. Human nature is pruned according to method and rule. Language advances from sterility to copiousness, and at the same time, from fervour and enthusiasm, to correctness and precision. Style becomes more chaste; but less animated. The progress of the world in this respect resembles the progress of age in man. The powers of imagination are most vigorous and predominant in youth; those of the understanding ripen more slowly, and often attain not their maturity, till the imagination begins to flag. Hence, poetry, which is the child of imagination, is frequently most glowing and animated in the first ages of society. As the ideas of our youth are remembered with a peculiar pleasure on account

of their liveliness and vivacity: so the most ancient poems have often proved the greatest favourites of nations.

Poetry has been said to be more ancient than prose: and however paradoxical such an assertion may seem, yet, in a qualified sense, it is true. Men certainly never conversed with one another in regular numbers; but even their ordinary language would, in ancient times, for the reasons before assigned, approach to a poetical style; and the first compositions transmitted to posterity, beyond doubt, were in a literal sense, poems; that is, compositions in which imagination had the chief hand, formed into some kind of numbers, and pronounced with a musical modulation or tone. Musick or songs has been found coæval with society among the most barbarous nations. The only subjects which could prompt men, in their first rude state to utter their thoughts in compositions of any length, were such as naturally assumed the tone of poetry; praises of their gods, or of their ancestors; commemorations of their own warlike exploits; or lamentations over their misfortunes. And before writing was invented, no other compositions, except songs or poems, could take such hold of the imagination and memory, as to be preserved by oral tradition, and handed down from one race to another.

Hence we may expect to find poems among the antiquities of all nations. It is probable too, that an extensive search would discover a certain degree of resemblance among all the most ancient poetical productions, from whatever country they have proceeded. In a similar state of manners, similar objects and passions operating upon the imaginations of men, will stamp their productions with the same general character. Some diversity will,

will, no doubt, be occasioned by climate and genius. But mankind never bear such resembling features, as they do in the beginnings of society. Its subsequent revolutions give rise to the principal distinctions among nations; and divert, into channels widely separated, that current of human genius and manners, which descends originally from one spring. What we have been long accustomed to call the oriental vein of poetry, because some of the earliest poetical productions have come to us from the East, is probably no more oriental than occidental; it is characteristical of an age rather than a country; and belongs, in some measure, to all nations at a certain period. Of this the works of Ossian seem to furnish a remarkable proof.

Our present subject leads us to investigate the ancient poetical remains, not so much of the east, or of the Greeks and Romans, as of the northern nations; in order to discover whether the Gothic poetry has any resemblance to the Celtic or Galic, which we were about to consider. Though the Goths, under which name we usually comprehend all the Scandinavian tribes, were a people altogether fierce and martial, and noted, to a proverb, for their ignorance of the liberal arts, yet they too, from the earliest times, had their poets and their songs. Their poets were distinguished by the title of *Scalders*, and their songs were termed *Vyses*.\*

A 4

Saxo

\* Olaus Wormius, in the appendix to his *Treatise de Literatura Runica*, has given a particular account of the Gothic poetry, commonly called Runic, from *Runes*, which signifies the Gothic letters. He informs us that there were no fewer than 136 different kinds of measure or verse used in their *Vyses*; and tho' we are accustomed to call rhyme a Gothic invention, he says expressly, that  
among

Saxo Grammaticus, a Danish Historian, of considerable note, who flourished in the thirteenth cen-

among all these measures, rhyme, or correspondence of final syllables, was never employed. He analyses the structure of one of these kinds of verse, that in which the poem of Lodbrog, afterwards quoted, is written; which exhibits a very singular species of harmony, if it can be allowed that name, depending neither upon rhyme nor upon metrical feet, or quantity of syllables, but chiefly upon the number of the syllable, and the disposition of the letters. In every stanza was an equal number of lines: in every line six syllables. In each distich, it was requisite that three words should begin with the same letter; two of the corresponding words placed in the first line of the distich, the third in the second line. In each line were also required two syllables, but never the final ones, formed either of the same consonants, or same vowels. As an example of this measure, Olaus gives us these two Latin lines constructed exactly according to the above rules of Runic verse.

Christus caput nostrum  
Coronet te bonis.

The initial letters of Christus, Caput and Coronet; make the three corresponding letters of the distich. In the first line, the first syllables of Christus and of nostrum; in the second line, the *on* in coronet and in bonis make the requisite correspondence of syllables. Frequent inversions and transpositions were permitted in this poetry; which would naturally follow from such laborious attention to the collocation of words.

The curious on this subject may consult likewise Dr. Hicks's Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium; particularly the 23d chapter of his Grammatica Anglo Saxonica et Mæso Gothica; where they will find a full account of the structure of the Anglo Saxon verse, which nearly resembled the Gothic. They will find also some specimens both of Gothic and Saxon poetry. An extract, which Dr. Hicks has given from the work of one of the Danish Scalders, entitled, Herverer Saga, containing an evocation from the dead, may be found in the 6th volume of Miscellany Poems, published by Mr. Dryden.



century, informs us that very many of these songs, containing the ancient traditionary stories of the country, were found engraven upon rocks in the old Runic character; several of which he has translated into Latin, and inserted into his History. But his versions are plainly so paraphrassical, and forced into such an imitation of the style and the measures of the Roman poets, that one can form no judgment from them of the native spirit of the original. A more curious monument of the true Gothic poetry is preserved by Olaus Wormius in his book de Literatura Runica. It is an Epicedium, or funeral song, composed by Regner Lodbrog; and translated by Olaus, word for word, from the original. This Lodbrog was a king of Denmark, who lived in the eighth century, famous for his wars and victories; and at the same time an eminent *Scalder* or poet. It was his misfortune to fall at last into the hands of one of his enemies, by whom he was thrown into prison, and condemned to be destroyed by serpents. In this situation he solaced himself with rehearsing all the exploits of his life. The poem is divided into twenty-nine stanzas, of ten lines each; and every stanza begins with these words, *Pugnavimus Ensis*, We have fought with our swords. Olaus's version is in many places so obscure as to be hardly intelligible. I have subjoined the whole below, exactly as he has published it; and shall translate as much as may give the English reader an idea of the spirit and strain of this kind of poetry.\*

“ We have fought with our swords.---I was  
 “ young, when, towards the east, in the bay of

A 5

“ Oreon<sub>2</sub>.

\* I.

*Pugnavimus Ensis*

*Haud post longum tempus*

*Cum*

“ Orcon, we made torrents of blood flow, to  
 “ gorge the ravenous beast of prey, and the  
 “ yellow-footed bird. There refounded the hard  
 “ steel upon the lofty helmets of men. The whole  
 “ ocean was one wound. The crow waded in  
 “ the

Cum in Gotlandia accessimus  
 An serpentis immensi necem  
 Tunc impetravimus Thoram  
 Ex hoc vocarunt me virum  
 Quod serpentem transfodi  
 Hirsutam braccam ob illam cedem  
 Cuspide ictum intuli in colubrum  
 Ferro lucidorum stipendiorum.

## 2.

Multum juvenis fui quando acquisivimus  
 Orientem versus in Oreonico freto  
 Vulnerum annes avidæ feræ  
 Et flavipedi avi  
 Accepimus ibidem sonuerunt  
 Ad sublimes galeas  
 Dura ferra magnam escam  
 Omnis erat oceanus vulnus  
 Vadavit corvus in sanguine Cæforum.

## 3.

Alte tulimus tunc lanceas  
 Quando viginti annos numeravimus  
 Et celebrem laudem comparavimus passim  
 Vicimus octo barones  
 In oriente ante Dimini portum  
 Aquilæ impetravimus tunc sufficientem  
 Hospitii sumptum in illa strage  
 Sudor decidit in vulnere  
 Oceano perdidit exercitus ætatem.

## 4.

Pugnæ facta copia  
 Cum Helsingianos postulavimus

“ the blood of the slain. When we had num-  
 “ bered twenty years, we lifted our spears on  
 “ high, and every where spread our renown.  
 “ Eight barons we overcame in the east be-  
 “ fore the port of Diminium; and plentifully  
 “ we feasted the eagle in that slaughter. The  
 “ warm

Ad aulam Odini  
 Naves direximus in ostium Vistulæ  
 Mucro potuit tum mordere  
 Omnis erat vulnus unda  
 Terra rubefacta Calido  
 Frendebat gladius in loricas  
 Gladius findebat Clypeos.

5.

Memini neminem tunc fugisse  
 Priusquam in navibus  
 Heraudus in bello caderet  
 Non findit navibus  
 Alius baro præstantior  
 Mare ad portum  
 In navibus longis post illum  
 Sic attulit princeps passim  
 Alacre in bellum cor.

6.

Exercitus abjecit clypeos  
 Cum hasta volavit  
 Ardua ad virorum pectora  
 Momordit Scarforum cautes  
 Gladius in pugna  
 Sanguineus erat Clypeus  
 Antequam Rafno rex caderet  
 Fluxit ex virorum capitibus  
 Calidus in loricas fudor.

7.

Habere potuerunt tum corvi  
 Ante Indirorum insulas

“ warm stream of wounds ran into the ocean.  
 “ The army fell before us. When we steered our  
 “ ships into the mouth of the Vistula, we sent the  
 “ Helsingians to the Hall of Odin. Then did  
 “ the sword bite. The waters were all one wound.  
 “ The earth was dyed red with the warm stream.

“ The

Sufficientem prædam dilaniandam  
 Acquisivimus feris carnivoris  
 Plenum prandium unico actu  
 Difficile erat unius facere mentionem  
 Oriente sole  
 Spicula vidi pungere  
 Propulerent arcus ex se ferra.

## 8.

Altum mugierunt enses  
 Antequam in Laneo campo  
 Eiflinus rex cecidit  
 Processimus auro ditati  
 Ad terram prostratorum dimicandum.  
 Gladius secuit Clypeorum  
 Picturas in galearum conventu  
 Cervicum mustum ex vulneribus.  
 Diffusum per cerebrum fissum.

## 9.

Tenuimus Clypeos in sanguine  
 Cum hastam unximus  
 Ante Boring holmum  
 Telorum nubes dirumpunt clypeum.  
 Extrusit arcus ex se metallum  
 Volnir cecidit in conflictu  
 Non erat illo rex major  
 Cæsi dispersi late per littora  
 Feræ amplectebantur escam.

## 10.

Pugna manifeste crescebat  
 Antequam Freyr rex caderet

“ The sword rung upon the coats of mail, and  
 “ clove the bucklers in twain. None fled on  
 “ that day, till among his ships Heraudus fell.  
 “ Than him no braver baron cleaves the sea with  
 “ ships; a chearful heart did he ever bring to the  
 “ combat. Then the host threw away their  
 “ shields,

In Flandrorum terra  
 Cæpit cæruleus ad incidendum  
 Sanguine illitus in auream  
 Loricam in pugna.  
 Durus armorum mucro olim  
 Virgo deploravit matutinam lanienam.  
 Multa præda dabatur feris.

## 11.

Centies centenos vidi jacere  
 In navibus  
 Ubi Ænglanes vocatur  
 Navigavimus ad pugnam  
 Per sex dies antequam exercitus caderet  
 Transigimus mucronum missam  
 In exortu folis  
 Coactus est pro nostris gladiis  
 Valdiosur in bello occumbere.

## 12.

Ruit pluvia sanguinis de gladiis  
 Præceps in Bardafyrde  
 Pallidum corpus pro accipitribus  
 Murmuravit arcus ubi mucro  
 Acriter mordebat Loricas  
 In conflictu  
 Odini Pileus Galea  
 Cucurrit arcus ad vulnus  
 Venenate acutus conspersus sudore sanguineo.

## 13.

Tenuimus magica scuta  
 Alte in pugna ludo

“ shields, when the uplifted spear flew at the  
 “ breasts of heroes. The sword bit the Scarfian  
 “ rocks; bloody was the shield in battle, until  
 “ Rafno the king was slain. From the heads of  
 “ warriors the warm sweat streamed down their  
 “ armour. The crows around the Indirian islands  
 “ had

Ante Hiadningum sinum  
 Videre licuit tum viros  
 Qui gladiis lacerarunt Clypeos  
 In gladiatorio murmure  
 Galeæ attritæ virorum  
 Erat sicut splendidam virginem  
 In lecto juxta se collocare.

14.

Dura venit tempeſtas Clypeis  
 Cadaver cecidit in terram  
 In Nortumbria  
 Erat circa matutinum tempus  
 Hominibus neceſſum erat fugere  
 Ex prælio ubi acute  
 Caſſidis campos mordebant gladii  
 Erat hoc veluti Juvenem viduam  
 In primaria ſede oſculari.

15.

Herthioſe evaſit fortunatus  
 In Auſtralibus Orcadibus ipſe  
 Victoriæ in noſtris hominibus  
 Cogebatur in armorum nimbo  
 Rogvaldus occumbere  
 Iſte venit ſummus ſuper accipitres  
 Luſtus in gladiatorum ludo  
 Strenue jaſtabat concuſſor  
 Galeæ ſanguinis teli.

16.

Quilibet jacebat tranſverſim ſupra alium  
 Gaudebat pugna lætus

“ had an ample prey. It were difficult to single  
 “ out one among so many deaths. At the rising  
 “ of the sun I beheld the spears piercing the bo-  
 “ dies of foes, and the bows throwing forth their  
 “ steel-

Accipiter ob gladiatorum ludum  
 Non fecit aquilam aut aprum  
 Qui Irlandiam gubernavit  
 Conventus fiebat ferri et Clypei  
 Marstanus rex jejunis  
 Fiebat in vedræ sinu.  
 Præda data corvis.

## 17.

Bellatorem multum vidi cadere  
 Mane ante machæram  
 Virum in mucronum dissidio  
 Filio meo incidit mature  
 Gladius juxta cor  
 Egillus fecit Agnerum spoliatum  
 Imperterritum virum vita  
 Sonuit lancea prope Hamdi  
 Griseam lorica splendebant vexilla.

## 18.

Verborum tenaces vidi difsecare  
 Haud minutim pro lupis  
 Endili maris ensibus  
 Erat per Hebdomadæ spacium  
 Quasi mulieres vinum apportarent  
 Rubefactæ erant naves  
 Valde in strepitu armorum  
 Sciffa erat lorica  
 In Scioldungorum prælio.

## 19.

Pulchricomum vidi crepusculascere  
 Virginis amatorem circa matutinum  
 Et confabulationis amicum viduarum  
 Erat sicut calidum balneum

“ steel-pointed arrows. Loud roared the swords  
 “ in the plains of Lano.---The virgin long be-  
 “ wailed the slaughter of that morning.”---In this  
 strain the poet continues to describe several other  
 military

Vinei vasis nympha portaret.  
 Nos in Ilæ freto.  
 Antiquam Orn rex caderet  
 Sanguineum Clypeum vidi ruptum  
 Hoc invertit virorum vitam.

## 20.

Egimus gladiatorum ad cædem  
 Ludum in Lindis insula  
 Cum regibus tribus.  
 Pauci potuerunt inde lætari  
 Cecidit multus in rictum ferarum  
 Accipiter dilaniavit carnem cum lupo  
 Ut satur inde discederet  
 Hybernorum sanguis in oceanum  
 Copiose decidit per inactationis tempus..

## 21.

Alte gladius mordebat Clypeos  
 Tunc cum aurei coloris  
 Hasta fricabat loricas  
 Videre licuit in Onlugs insula  
 Per secula multum post  
 Ibi fuit ad gladiatorum ludos  
 Reges processerunt.  
 Rubicundum erat circa insulam  
 Ar volans Draco vulnerum.

## 22.

Quid est viro forti morte certius  
 Etsi ipse in armorum nimbo  
 Adversus collocatus sit  
 Sæpe deplorat ætatem.  
 Qui nunquam premitur  
 Malum ferunt timidum incitare.



military exploits. The images are not much varied; the noise of arms, the streaming of blood, and the feasting the birds of prey, often recurring. He mentions the death of two of his sons in battle; and the lamentation he describes as made for one of

Aquilam ad gladiatorum ludum  
Meticulosus venit nuspian  
Cordi suo usui.

23.

Hoc numero æquum ut procedat  
In contactu gladiatorum  
Juvenis unus contra alterum  
Non retrocedat vir a viro.  
Hoc fuit viri fortis nobilitas diu  
Semper debet amoris amicus virginum  
Audax esse in fremitu armorum.

24.

Hoc videtur mihi re vera  
Quod fata sequimur  
Rarus transgreditur fata Parcarum  
Non destinavi Ellæ  
De vitæ exitu meæ  
Cum ego sanguinem semimortuus tegerem  
Et naves in aquas protrusi  
Passim impetravimus tum feris  
Escam in Scotiæ sinubus.

25.

Hoc ridere me facit semper  
Quod Balderi patris scamna  
Parata scio in aula  
Bibemus cerevisiam brevi  
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum  
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem  
Magnifici in Odini domibus  
Non venio desperabundis  
Verbis ad Odini aulam.

Hic

of them is very singular. A Grecian or Roman poet would have introduced the virgins or nymphs of the wood, bewailing the untimely fall of a young hero. But, says our Gothic poet, “ when “ Rogvaldus was slain, for him mourned all the “ hawks of heaven,” as lamenting a benefactor who had so liberally supplied them with prey; “ for “ boldly,”

## 26.

Hic vellent nunc omnes  
 Filii Aslaugæ gladiis  
 Amarum bellum excitare  
 Si exacte scirent  
 Calamitates nostras  
 Quem non pauci angues  
 Venenati me discerpunt  
 Matrem accepi meis  
 Filiis ita ut corda valeant.

## 27.

Valde inclinatur ad hæreditatem  
 Crudele stat nocumentum a vipera  
 Anguis inhabitat aulam cordis  
 Speramus alterius ad Othini  
 Virgam in Ellæ sanguine  
 Filiis meis livescet  
 Sua ira rubescet  
 Non acres juvenes  
 Sessionem tranquillam facient.

## 28.

Habeo quinquagies  
 Prælia sub signis facta  
 Ex belli invitatione et semel  
 Minime putavi hominum  
 Quod me futurus esset  
 Juvenis didici mucronem rubefacere  
 Alius rex præstantior

“ boldly,” as he adds, “ in the strife of swords,  
 “ did the breaker of helmets throw the spear of  
 “ blood.”

The poems conclude with sentiments of the highest bravery and contempt of Death. “ What  
 “ is more certain to the brave man than death,  
 “ though amidst the storm of swords, he stand al-  
 “ ways ready to oppose it? He only regrets this  
 “ life who hath never known distress. The timo-  
 “ rous man allures the devouring eagle to the  
 “ field of battle. The coward, wherever he  
 “ comes, is useless to himself. This I esteem  
 “ honourable, that the youth should advance to  
 “ the combat fairly matched one against another ;  
 “ nor man retreat from man. Long was this the  
 “ warrior’s highest glory. He who aspires to the  
 “ love of virgins, ought always to be foremost in  
 “ the roar of arms. It appears to me of truth,  
 “ that we are led by the Fates. Seldom can any  
 “ overcome the appointment of destiny. Little  
 “ did I foresee that Ella \* was to have my life in  
 “ his hands, in that day, when fainting I conceal-  
 “ ed my blood, and pushed forth my ships into  
 “ the

Nos Afæ invitabunt  
 Non est lugenda mors.

29.

Fert animus finire  
 Invitant me Dysæ  
 Quas ex Othini Aula  
 Othinus mihi misit  
 Lætus cerevisiam cum Afis  
 In summa fede bibam  
 Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ  
 Ridens moriar.

\* This was the name of his enemy who had condemned him to death.

“ the waves ; after we had spread a repast for the  
 “ beasts of prey throughout the Scottish bays. But  
 “ this makes me always rejoice that in the halls of  
 “ our father Balder [or Odin] I know there are  
 “ feasts prepared, where, in a short time, we shall  
 “ be drinking ale out of the hollow skulls of our  
 “ enemies. In the house of the mighty Odin,  
 “ no brave man laments death. I come not with  
 “ the voice of despair to Odin’s hall. How eagerly  
 “ would all the sons of Aslauga now rush to  
 “ war, did they know the distress of their father,  
 “ whom a multitude of venomous serpents tear !  
 “ I have given to my children a mother who hath  
 “ filled their hearts with valour. I am fast ap-  
 “ proaching to my end. A cruel death awaits me  
 “ from the viper’s bite. A snake dwells in the  
 “ midst of my heart. I hope that the sword of  
 “ some of my sons shall yet be stained with the  
 “ blood of Ella. The valiant youths will wax red  
 “ with anger, and will not sit in peace. Fifty and  
 “ one times have I reared the standard in battle.  
 “ In my youth I learned to dye the sword in blood :  
 “ my hope was then, that no king among men  
 “ would be more renowned than I. The god-  
 “ desses of death will now soon call me ; I must not  
 “ mourn my death. Now I end my song. The  
 “ goddesses invite me away ; they whom Odin has  
 “ sent to me from his hall. I will sit upon a lofty  
 “ seat, and drink ale joyfully with the goddesses of  
 “ death. The hours of my life are run out. I  
 “ will smile when I die.”

This is such poetry as we might expect from a  
 barbarous nation. It breathes a most ferocious  
 spirit. It is wild, harsh and irregular ; but at the  
 same time animated and strong ; the style, in the  
 original, full of inversions, and, as we learn from  
 some

some of Olaus's notes, highly metaphorical and figured.

But when we open the works of Ossian, a very different scene presents itself. There we find the fire and the enthusiasm of the most early times, combined with an amazing degree of regularity and art. We find tenderness, and even delicacy of sentiment, greatly predominant over fierceness and barbarity. Our hearts are melted with the softest feelings, and at the same time elevated with the highest ideas of magnanimity, generosity, and true heroism. When we turn from the poetry of Lodbrog to that of Ossian, it is like passing from a savage desert, into a fertile and cultivated country. How is this to be accounted for? Or by what means to be reconciled with the remote antiquity attributed to these poems? This is a curious point; and requires to be illustrated.

That the ancient Scots were of Celtic original, is past all doubt. Their conformity with the Celtic nations in language, manners and religion, proves it to a full demonstration. The Celtæ, a great and mighty people, altogether distinct from the Goths and Teutones, once extended their dominion over all the west of Europe; but seem to have had their most full and compleat establishment in Gaul. Wherever the Celtæ or Gauls are mentioned by ancient writers, we seldom fail to hear of their Druids and their Bards; the institution of which two orders, was the capital distinction of their manners and policy. The Druids were their philosophers and priests; the Bards, their poets and recorders of heroic actions. And both these orders of men, seem to have subsisted among them, as chief members of the state, from  
time

time immemorial\*. We must not therefore imagine the Celtæ to have been altogether a gross and rude nation. They possessed from very remote ages a formed system of discipline and manners, which appears to have had a deep and lasting influence. Ammianus Marcellinus gives them this express testimony, that there flourished among them the study of the most laudable arts, introduced by the Bards, whose office it was to sing in heroic verse, the gallant actions of illustrious men; and by the Druids, who lived together in colleges or societies, after the Pythagorean manner, and philosophizing upon the highest subjects, asserted the immortality of the human soul. Though Julius Cæsar in his account of Gaul, does not expressly mention the Bards, yet it is plain that under the title of Druids, he comprehends that whole college or order; of which the Bards, who, it is probable, were

\* Τρία φύλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἐσί. Βαρδοὶ τε καὶ ἑατεῖς, καὶ Δρυῖδες. Βαρδοὶ μὲν ὕμνηται καὶ ποιηταὶ. Strabo lib. 4.

Ἔισι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μελῶν, ἧς βαρδοὺς ὀνομαζουσιν. ἕτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων, ταῖς λυραῖς ὁμοίων, ἧς μὲν ὕμνεσι, ἧς δὲ βλασφημῶσι. Diodor. Sicul. l. 5.

Τὰ δὲ ἀκροσμάτα αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ καλλόμενοι βαρδοὶ. ποιηταὶ δ' ἕτοι τυτχανέσι μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐπαινῆς λεγόντες. Posidonius ap. Athenæum, l. 6.

† Per hæc loca (speaking of Gaul) hominibus paulatim exultis, viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum; inchoata per Bardos et Euhages et Druidas. Et Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt. Euhages vero scrutantes feriem et sublimia naturæ pandere conabantur. Inter hos, Druidæ ingeniis celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagoræ decrevit, sodalitiis adstricti consortiis, quæstionibus altarum occultarumque rerum erecti sunt; et despectantes humana pronuntiarunt animas immortales. Amm. Marcellinus, l. 15. cap. 9.

were the disciples of the Druids undoubtedly made a part. It deserves remark, that according to his account, the Druidical institution first took rise in Britain, and passed from thence into Gaul; so that they who aspired to be thorough masters of that learning were wont to resort to Britain. He adds too, that such as were to be initiated among the Druids, were obliged to commit to their memory a great number of verses, insomuch that some employed twenty years in this course of education; and that they did not think it lawful to record these poems in writing, but sacredly handed them down by tradition from race to race\*.

So strong was the attachment of the Celtic nations to their poetry and their Bards, that amidst all the changes of their governments and manners, even long after the order of the Druids was extinct, and the national religion altered, the Bards continued to flourish; not as a set of strolling songsters, like the Greek *Αοιδοι* or Rhapsodists, in Homer's time, but as an order of men highly respected in the state, and supported by a public establishment. We find them according to the testimonies of Strabo and Diodorus, before the age of Augustus Cæsar; and we find them remaining under the same name, and exercising the same functions as of old, in Ireland and in the north of Scotland, almost down to our own times. It is well known that in both these countries, every *Regulus* or chief had his own Bard, who was considered as an officer of rank in his court; and had lands assigned him, which descended to his family. Of the honour in which the Bards were held, many instances occur in Ossian's poems. On all important occasions, they were the ambassadors between contending chiefs; and their persons were held sacred

\* Vid. Cæsar de bello Gall. lib. 6.

facred. “ Cairbar feared to stretch his sword to  
 “ the bards, though his soul was dark.---Loofe  
 “ the bards, said his brother Cathmor, they are  
 “ the fons of other times. Their voice fhall be  
 “ heard in other ages, when the kings of Temora  
 “ have failed\*.”

From all this, the Celtic tribes clearly appear to have been addicted in fo high a degree to poetry, and to have made it fo much their ftudy from the earlieft times, as may remove our wonder at meeting with a vein of higher poetical refinement among them, than was at firft fight to have been expected among nations, whom we are accuftomed to call barbarous. Barbarity, I muft obferve, is a very equivocal term; it admits of many different forms and degrees; and though, in all of them, it exclude polished manners, it is however, not inconfiftent with generous sentiments and tender affectionst. What degrees of friendfhip, love and heroifm, may poffibly be found to prevail in a rude ftate of fociety, no one can fay. Astonifhing instances of them we know from hiftory, have fometimes appeared: and a few characters diftinguifhed by thofe high qualities, might lay a foundation for a fet of manners being introduced into the fongs of the Bards, more refined, it is probable, and exalted, according to the ufual poetical licence, than the real manners of the coun-

\* Vol. i. p. 263.

† Surely among the wild Laplanders, if any where; barbarity is in its moft perfect ftate. Yet their love fongs which Scheffer has given us in his Lapponia, are a proof that natural tendernes of fentiment may be found in a country, into which the leaft glimmering of fcience has never penetrated. To moft Englifh readers thefe fongs are well known by the elegant translations of them in the Spectator, No. 366 and 465; I fhall fubjoin Scheffer's Latin



country. In particular, with respect to heroism; the great employment of the Celtic bards, was to delineate the characters, and sing the praises of heroes. So Lucan:

Vos quoque qui fortes animos, belloque peremptos,

Laudibus in longum vates diffunditis ævum  
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.

*Pharf. l. 1.*

Now when we consider a college or order of men, who, cultivating poetry throughout a long series of ages, had their imaginations continually employed on the ideas of heroism; who had all the poems and panegyrics, which were composed by their predecessors handed down to them with care; who rivalled and endeavoured to outstrip those who had gone before them, each in the celebration of

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Latin version of one of them! which has the appearance of being strictly literal.

Sol, clarissimum emitte lumen in paludem Orra. Si enisus in summa picearum cacumina scirem me visurum Orra paludem, in ea eniterer, ut viderem inter quos amica, mea esset flores; omnes suscinderem frutices ibi enatos, omnes ramos præsecarem hos virentes ramos. Cursum nubium essem secutus, quæ iter suum instituunt versus paludem Orra, si ad te volare possem alis, cornicum alis. Sed mihi defunt, alæ, alæ, querquedula, pedesque, anserum pedes plantæve bonæ, quæ, deferre me valeant ad te. Satis expectasti diu; per tot dies, tot dies tuos optimos, oculis tuis jucundissimis corde tuo amicissimo. Quod si longissime velles effugere, cito tamen te consequerer. Quid firmiter validiusve esse potest quam contorti nervi, catenæve ferreæ, quæ durissime ligant? Sic amor contorquet caput nostrum, mutat cogitationes et sententias. Puerorum voluntas, voluntas venti; juvenum cogitationes, longæ cogitationes. Quos si audirem omnes, a via, a via justa declinarem. Unum est consilium quod capiam; ita scio viam rectiorem me reperturum. Schefferi Lapponia, Cap. 25.

his particular hero; is it not natural to think, that at length the character of a hero would appear in their songs with the highest lustre, and be adorned with qualities truly noble? Some of the qualities indeed, which distinguish a Fingal, moderation, humanity, and clemency, would not probably be the first ideas of heroism occurring to a barbarous people: But no sooner had such ideas begun to dawn on the minds of poets, than as the human mind easily opens to the native representations of human perfection, they would be seized and embraced; they would enter into their panegyrics; they would afford materials for succeeding bards to work upon, and improve; they would contribute not a little to exalt the public manners. For such songs as these, familiar to the Celtic warriors from their childhood, and throughout their whole life, both in war and in peace, their principal entertainment, must have had a very considerable influence in propagating among them real manners nearly approaching to the poetical; and in forming even such a hero as Fingal. Especially when we consider that among their limited objects of ambition, among the few advantages which in a savage state, man could obtain over man, the chief was Fame, and that Immortality which they expected to receive from their virtues and exploits, in the songs of bards\*.

Having made these remarks on the Celtic poetry and Bards in general, I shall next consider the

\* When Edward I. conquered Wales, he put to death all the Welch bards. This cruel policy plainly shews, how great an influence he imagined the songs of these bards to have over the minds of the people; and of what nature he judged that influence to be. The Welch bards were of the same Celtic race with the Scottish and Irish.

the particular advantages which Ossian possessed. He appears clearly to have lived in a period which enjoyed all the benefit I just now mentioned of traditionary poetry. The exploits of Trathal, Trenmor, and the other ancestors of Fingal, are spoken of as familiarly known. Ancient bards are frequently alluded to. In one remarkable passage, Ossian describes himself as living in a sort of classical age, enlightened by the memorials of former times, which were conveyed in the songs of bards; and points at a period of darkness and ignorance which lay beyond the reach of tradition. "His words," says he, "came only by halves to our ears; they were dark as the tales of other times, before the light of the song arose." Ossian, himself, appears to have been endowed by nature with an exquisite sensibility of heart; prone to that tender melancholy which is so often an attendant on great genius; and susceptible equally of strong and of soft emotions. He was not only a professed bard, educated with care, as we may easily believe, to all the poetical art then known, and connected, as he shews us himself, in intimate friendship with the other contemporary bards, but a warrior also; and the son of the most renowned hero and prince of his age. This formed a conjunction of circumstances, uncommonly favourable towards exalting the imagination of a poet. He relates expeditions in which he had been engaged; he sings of battles in which he had fought and overcome; he had beheld the most illustrious scenes which that age could exhibit, both of heroism in war, and magnificence in peace. For however rude the magnificence of those times may seem to us, we must remember that all ideas of

magnificence are comparative; and that the age of Fingal was an æra of distinguished splendor in that part of the world. Fingal reigned over a considerable territory; he was enriched with the spoils of the Roman province; he was ennobled by his victories and great actions; and was in all respects a personage of much higher dignity than any of the chieftains, or heads of Clans, who lived in the same country, after a more extensive monarchy was established.

The manners of Ossian's age, so far as we can gather them from his writings, were abundantly favourable to a poetical genius. The two dispiriting vices, to which Longinus imputes the decline of poetry, covetousness and effeminacy, were as yet unknown. The cares of men were few. They lived a roving indolent life; hunting and war their principal employments; and their chief amusements, the musick of bards and "the feast of shells." The great object pursued by heroic spirits was "to receive their fame," that is, to become worthy of being celebrated in the songs of bards; and "to have their name on the four grey stones." To die unlamented by a bard, was deemed so great a misfortune, as even to disturb their ghosts in another state. "They wander in thick mists beside the reedy lake; but never shall they rise, without the song, to the dwelling of winds." After death, they expected to follow employments of the same nature with those which had amused them on earth; to fly with their friends on clouds, to pursue airy deer, and to listen to their praise in the mouths of bards. In such times as these, in a country where poetry had been so long cultivated, and so highly honoured, is it any wonder that among the race and succession of bards, one Homer should arise;  
a man

a man, who, endowed with a natural happy genius, favoured by peculiar advantages of birth and condition, and meeting in the course of his life, with a variety of incidents proper to fire his imagination, and to touch his heart, should attain a degree of eminence in poetry, worthy to draw the admiration of more refined ages?

The compositions of Ossian are so strongly marked with characters of antiquity, that although there were no external proof to support that antiquity, hardly any reader of judgment and taste, could hesitate in referring them to a very remote æra. There are four great stages through which men successively pass in the progress of society. The first and earliest is the life of hunters; pasturage succeeds to this, as the ideas of property begin to take root; next agriculture; and lastly, commerce. Throughout Ossian's poems, we plainly find ourselves in the first of these periods of society; during which, hunting was the chief employment of men, and the principal method of their procuring subsistence. Pasturage was not indeed wholly unknown; for we hear of dividing the herd in the case of a divorce; but the allusions to herds and to cattle are not many; and of agriculture, we find no traces. No cities appear to have been built in the territories of Fingal. No arts are mentioned except that of navigation and of working in iron †. Every thing presents to

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† Their skill in navigation need not at all surprize us. Living in the western islands, along the coast, or in a country which is every where intersected with arms of the sea, one of the first objects of their attention, from the earliest time, must have been how to traverse the waters. Hence that knowledge of the stars, so necessary for guiding them by night, of which we find several

traces

us the most simple and unimproved manners. At their feasts, the heroes prepared their own repast; they sat round the light of the burning oak; the wind lifted their locks, and whistled through their open halls. Whatever was beyond the necessaries of life, was known to them only as the spoil of the Roman province; "the gold of the stranger; the lights of the stranger; the steeds of the stranger, the children of the rein."

This representation of Ossian's times, must strike us the more, as genuine and authentick, when it is compared with a poem of later date, which Mr. Macpherson has preserved in one of his notes. It is that wherein five bards are represented as passing the evening in the house of a chief, and each of them separately giving his description of the night. The night scenery is beautiful; and the author has plainly imitated the style and manner of Ossian: But he has allowed some images to appear which betray a later period of society.

For

traces in Ossian's works; particularly in the beautiful description of Cathmor's shield, in the 7th book of Temora. Among all the northern maritime nations, navigation was very early studied. Piratical incursions were the chief means they employed for acquiring booty; and were among the first exploits which distinguished them in the world. Even the savage Americans were at their first discovery found to possess the most surprising skill and dexterity in navigating their immense lakes and rivers.

The description of Cuchullin's chariot, in the 1st book of Fingal, has been objected to by some, as representing greater magnificence than is consistent with the supposed poverty of that age. But this chariot is plainly only a horse-litter; and the gems mentioned in the description, are no other than the shining stones or pebbles, known to be frequently found along the western coast of Scotland.

For we meet with windows clapping, the herds of goats and cows seeking shelter, the shepherd wandering, corn on the plain, and the wakeful hind rebuilding the shocks of corn which had been overturned by the tempest. Whereas in Ossian's works, from beginning to end, all is consistent; no modern allusion drops from him; but every where, the same face of rude nature appears; a country wholly uncultivated, thinly inhabited, and recently peopled. The grass of the rock, the flower of the heath, the thistle with its beard, are the chief ornaments of his landscapes. "the desert," says Fingal, "is enough to me, with all its woods and deer."

The circle of ideas and transactions, is no wider than suits such an age: Nor any greater diversity introduced into characters, than the events of that period would naturally display. Valour and bodily strength are the admired qualities. Contentions arise, as is usual among savage nations, from the slightest causes. To be affronted at a tournament, or to be omitted in the invitation to a feast, kindles a war. Women are often carried away by force; and the whole tribe, as in the Homeric times, rise to avenge the wrong. The heroes shew refinement of sentiment indeed on several occasions, but none of manners. They speak of their past actions with freedom, boast of their exploits, and sing their own praise. In their battles, it is evident that drums, trumpets, or bagpipes, were not known or used. They had no expedient for giving the military alarms but striking a shield, or raising a loud cry: And hence the loud and terrible voice of Fingal is often mentioned, as a necessary qualification of a great general; like the *βοῶν ἀγῶτες μετῆλας* of Homer. Of military

discipline or skill, they appear to have been entirely destitute. Their armies seem not to have been numerous; their battles were disorderly; and terminated, for the most part, by a personal combat, or wrestling of the two chiefs; after which, “the bard sung the song of peace, and the battle ceased along the field.”

The manner of composition bears all the marks of the greatest antiquity. No artful transitions; nor full and extended connection of parts; such as we find among the poets of later times, when order and regularity of composition were more studied and known; but a style always rapid and vehement; in narration concise even to abruptness, and leaving several circumstances to be supplied by the reader's imagination. The language has all that figurative cast, which, as I before shewed, partly a glowing and undisciplined imagination, partly the sterility of language and the want of proper terms, have always introduced into the early speech of nations; and in several respects, it carries a remarkable resemblance to the style of the Old Testament. It deserves particular notice, as one of the most genuine and decisive characters of antiquity, that very few general terms or abstract ideas, are to be met with in the whole collection of Ossian's works. The ideas, of men, at first, were all particular. They had not words to express general conceptions. These were the consequence of more profound reflection and longer acquaintance with the arts of thought and of speech. Ossian, accordingly, almost never expresses himself in the abstract. His ideas extended little farther than to the objects he saw around him. A public, a community, the universe, were conceptions beyond his sphere. Even a mountain, a sea, or a lake, which he has occa-

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sion to mention, though only in a simile, are for the most part particularised; it is the hill of Cromla the storm of the sea of Malmor, or the reeds of the lake of Lego. A mode of expression, which whilst it is characteristical of ancient ages, is at the same time highly favourable to descriptive poetry. For the same reasons, personification is a poetical figure not very common with Ossian. Inanimate objects, such as winds, trees, flowers, he sometimes personifies with great beauty. But the personifications which are so familiar to later poets of Fame, Time, Terror, Virtue, and the rest of that class, were unknown to our Celtic bard. These were modes of conception, too abstract for his age.

All these are marks so undoubted, and some of them too, so nice and delicate, of the most early times, as put the high antiquity of these poems out of question. Especially when we consider, that if there had been any imposture in this case, it must have been contrived and executed in the Highlands of Scotland, two or three centuries ago; as up to this period, both by manuscripts, and by the testimony of a multitude of living witnesses, concerning the uncontrovertible tradition of these poems, they can clearly be traced. Now this is a period when that country enjoyed no advantages for a composition of this kind, which it may not be supposed to have enjoyed in as great, if not in a greater degree, a thousand years before. To suppose that two or three hundred years ago, when we well know the Highlands to have been in a state of gross ignorance and barbarity, there should have arisen in that country a poet, of such exquisite genius, and of such deep knowledge of mankind, and of history, as to divest himself of the ideas and manners of his own age, and to give

us a just and natural picture of a state of society ancienter by a thousand years ; one who could support this counterfeited antiquity through such a large collection of poems, without the least inconsistency ; and who possessed of all this genius and art, had at the same time the self-denial of concealing himself, and of ascribing his own works to an antiquated bard, without the imposture being detected ; is a supposition that transcends all bounds of credibility.

There are, besides, two other circumstances to be attended to, still of greater weight, if possible, against this hypothesis. One is the total absence of religious ideas from this work ; for which the translator has, in his preface, given a very probable account, on the footing of its being the work of Ossian. The druidical superstition was, in the days of Ossian, on the point of its final extinction ; and for particular reasons, odious to the family of Fingal ; whilst the christian faith was not yet established. But had it been the work of one, to whom the ideas of christianity were familiar from his infancy ; and who had superadded to them also the bigotted superstition of a dark age and country ; it is impossible but in some passage or other, the traces of them would have appeared. The other circumstance is, the entire silence which reigns with respect to all the great clans or families, which are now established in the Highlands. The origin of these several clans is known to be very ancient : And it is as well known, that there is no passion by which a native Highlander is more distinguished, than by attachment to his clan, and jealousy for its honour. That a highland bard in forging a work relating to the antiquities of his country, should have inserted no circumstance which pointed out the rise of his own clan which ascertained its anti-

antiquity, or increased its glory, is of all suppositions that can be formed, the most improbable; and the silence on this head, amounts to a demonstration that the author lived before any of the present great clans were formed or known.

Assuming it then, as we well may, for certain, that the poems now under consideration, are genuine venerable monuments of very remote antiquity; I proceed to make some remarks upon their general spirit and strain. The two great characteristics of Ossian's poetry, are, tenderness and sublimity. It breathes nothing of the gay and cheerful kind; an air of solemnity and seriousness is diffused over the whole. Ossian is perhaps the only poet who never relaxes, or lets himself down into the light and amusing strain; which I readily admit to be no small disadvantage to him, with the bulk of readers. He moves perpetually in the high region of the grand and the pathetick. One key note is struck at the beginning, and supported to the end; nor is any ornament introduced, but what is perfectly concordant with the general tone or melody. The events recorded, are all serious and grave; the scenery throughout, wild and romantic. The extended heath by the sea-shore; the mountain shaded with mist; the torrent rushing through a solitary valley; the scattered oaks, and the tombs of warriors overgrown with moss; all produce a solemn attention in the mind, and prepare it for great and extraordinary events. We find not in Ossian, an imagination that sports itself, and dresses out gay trifles to please the fancy. His poetry, more perhaps than that of any other writer, deserves to be styled, *The Poetry of the Heart*. It is a heart penetrated with noble sentiments, and with sublime and tender passions; a heart that glows, and kindles the fancy; a heart that is full, and pours itself forth. Ossian did not write, like

modern poets, to please readers and critics. He sung from the love of poetry and song. His delight was to think of the heroes among whom he had flourished; to recall the affecting incidents of his life; to dwell upon his past wars and loves and friendships; till, as he expresses it himself, “there comes a voice to Ossian and awakes his soul. It is the voice of years that are gone; they roll before me with all their deeds;” and under this true poetic inspiration, giving vent to his genius, no wonder we should so often hear, and acknowledge in his strains, the powerful and ever-pleasing voice of nature.

-----Arte, natura potentior omni.-----

Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo.

It is necessary here to observe, that the beauties of Ossian’s writings cannot be felt by those who have given them only a single or a hasty perusal. His manner is so different from that of the poets, to whom we are most accustomed; his style is so concise, and so much crowded with imagery; the mind is kept at such a stretch in accompanying the author; that an ordinary reader is at first apt to be dazzled and fatigued rather than pleased. His poems require to be taken up at intervals, and to be frequently reviewed; and then it is impossible but his beauties must open to every reader who is capable of sensibility. Those who have the highest degree of it, will relish them the most.

As Homer is of all the great poets, the one whose manner, and whose times come the nearest to Ossian’s, we are naturally led to run a parallel in some instances, between the Greek and the Celtic bard. For though Homer lived more than a thousand years before Ossian, it is not from the age of the world, but from the state of society, that we are to judge of resembling times. The Greek

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has, in several points, a manifest superiority. He introduces a greater variety of incidents; he possesses a larger compass of ideas; has more diversity in his characters; and a much deeper knowledge of human nature. It was not to be expected, that in any of these particulars, Ossian could equal Homer. For Homer lived in a country where society was much farther advanced; he had beheld many more objects; cities built and flourishing; laws instituted; order, discipline, and arts begun. His field of observation was much larger and more splendid; his knowledge, of course, more extensive; his mind also, it shall be granted, more penetrating. But if Ossian's ideas and objects be less diversified than those of Homer, they are all, however, of the kind fittest for poetry: The bravery and generosity of heroes, the tenderness of lovers, the attachments of friends, parents, and children. In a rude age and country, though the events that happen be few, the undissipated mind broods over them more; they strike the imagination, and fire the passions in a higher degree; and of consequence become happier materials to a poetical genius, than the same events when scattered through the wide circle of more varied action, and cultivated life.

Homer is a more chearful and sprightly poet than Ossian. You discern in him all the Greek vivacity; whereas Ossian uniformly maintains the gravity and solemnity of a Celtic hero. This too is in a great measure to be accounted for from the different situations in which they lived, partly personal, and partly national. Ossian had survived all his friends, and was disposed to melancholy by the incidents of his life. But besides this, chearfulness is one of the many blessings which we owe to formed society. The solitary wild state is always a  
fe-

serious one. Bating the sudden and violent bursts of mirth, which sometimes break forth at their dances and feasts; the savage American tribes have been noted by all travellers for their gravity and taciturnity. Somewhat of this taciturnity may be also remarked in Ossian. On all occasions he is frugal of his words; and never gives you more of an image or a description, than is just sufficient to place it before you in one clear point of view. It is a blaze of lightning, which flashes and vanishes. Homer is more extended in his descriptions; and fills them up with a greater variety of circumstances. Both the poets are dramatick; that is, they introduce their personages frequently speaking before us. But Ossian is concise and rapid in his speeches, as he is in every other thing. Homer, with the Greek vivacity, had also some portion of the Greek loquacity. His speeches indeed are highly characteristical; and to them we are much indebted for that admirable display he has given of human nature. Yet if he be tedious any where, it is in these; some of them trifling; and some of them plainly unseasonable. Both poets are eminently sublime; but a difference may be remarked in the species of their sublimity. Homer's sublimity is accompanied with more impetuosity and fire; Ossian's with more of a solemn and awful grandeur. Homer hurries you along; Ossian elevates, and fixes you in astonishment. Homer is most sublime in actions and battles; Ossian, in description and sentiment. In the pathetick, Homer, when he chuses to exert it, has great power; but Ossian exerts that power much oftener, and has the character of tenderness far more deeply imprinted on his works. No poet knew better how to seize and melt the heart. With regard to dignity of sentiment, the pre-eminence must clearly be given to Ossian. This is indeed a surprising

circumstance, that in point of humanity, magnanimity, virtuous feelings of every kind, our rude Celtic bard should be distinguished to such a degree, that not only the heroes of Homer, but even those of the polite and refined Virgil, are left far behind by those of Ossian.

After these general observations on the genius and spirit of our author, I now proceed to a nearer view, and more accurate examination of his works: and as Fingal is the first great poem in this collection, It is proper to begin with it. To refuse the title of an epic poem to Fingal, because it is not in every little particular, exactly conformable to the practice of Homer and Virgil, were the mere squeamishness and pedantry of criticism. Examined even according to Aristotle's rules, it will be found to have all the essential requisites of a true and regular epic; and to have several of them in so high a degree, as at first view to raise our astonishment on finding Ossian's composition so agreeable to rules of which he was entirely ignorant. But our astonishment will cease, when we consider from what source Aristotle drew those rules. Homer knew no more of the laws of criticism than Ossian. But guided by nature, he composed in verse a regular story, founded on heroic actions, which all posterity admired. Aristotle, with great sagacity and penetration, traced the causes of this general admiration. He observed what it was in Homer's composition, and in the conduct of his story, which gave it such power to please; from this observation he deduced the rules which poets ought to follow, who would write and please like Homer; and to a composition formed according to such rules, he gave the name of an epic poem. Hence his whole system arose. Aristotle studied nature in Homer. Homer and Ossian

fian both wrote from nature. No wonder that among all the three, there should be such agreement and conformity.

The fundamental rules delivered by Aristotle concerning an epic poem, are these: That the action which is the ground work of the poem, should be one, compleat, and great; that it should be feigned, not merely historical; that it should be enlivened with characters and manners; and heightened by the marvellous.

But before entering on any of these, it may perhaps be asked, what is the moral of Fingal? For, according to M. Bossu, an epic poem is no other than an allegory contrived to illustrate some moral truth. The poet, says the critic, must begin with fixing on some maxim, or instruction, which he intends to inculcate on mankind. He next forms a fable, like one of Æsop's, wholly with a view to the moral; and having thus settled and arranged his plan, he then looks into traditionary history for names and incidents, to give his fable some air of probability. Never did a more frigid, pedantic notion enter into the mind of a critic. We may safely pronounce, that he who should compose an epic poem after this manner, who should first lay down a moral and contrive a plan, before he had thought of his personages and actors, might deliver indeed very sound instruction, but would find few readers. There cannot be the least doubt that the first object which strikes an epic poet, which fires his genius, and gives him any idea of his work, is the action or subject he is to celebrate. Hardly is there any tale, any subject a poet can chuse for such a work, but will afford some general moral instruction. An epic poem is by its nature one of the most moral of all poetical compositions: But its moral tendency is by no means to be limited



ed to some common-place maxim, which may be gathered from the story. It arises from the admiration of heroic actions, which such a composition is peculiarly calculated to produce; from the virtuous emotions which the characters and incidents raise, whilst we read it; from the happy impression which all the parts separately, as well as the whole taken together, leave upon the mind. However, if a general moral be still insisted on, Fingal obviously furnishes one, not inferior to that of any other poet, viz. That Wisdom and Bravery always triumph over brutal force; or another nobler still; That the most compleat victory over an enemy is obtained by that moderation and generosity which convert him into a friend.

The unity of the Epic action, which, of all Aristotle's rules, is the chief and most material, is so strictly preserved in Fingal, that it must be perceived by every reader. It is a more compleat unity than what arises from relating the actions of one man, which the Greek critic justly censures as imperfect; it is the unity of one enterprize, the deliverance of Ireland from the invasion of Swaran: An enterprize, which has surely the full Heroic dignity. All the incidents recorded bear a constant reference to the end; no double plot is carried on; but the parts unite into a regular whole: And as the action is one and great, so it is an entire or compleat action. For we find, as the Critic farther requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end; a Nodus, or intrigue in the Poem; Difficulties occurring through Cuchullin's rashness and bad success; those difficulties gradually surmounted; and at last the work conducted to that happy conclusion which is held essential to Epic Poetry. Unity is indeed observed with greater exactness in Fingal, than in almost any other Epic composition.

For

For not only is unity of subject maintained, but that of time and place also. The Autumn is clearly pointed out as the season of the action; and from beginning to end the scene is never shifted from the heath of Lena, along the sea-shore. The duration of the action in Fingal, is much shorter than in the Iliad or Æneid. But sure, there may be shorter as well as longer Heroic poems; and if the authority of Aristotle be also required for this, he says expressly that the Epic composition is indefinite as to the time of its duration. Accordingly the Action of the Iliad lasts only forty-seven days, whilst that of the Æneid is continued for more than a year.

Throughout the whole of Fingal, there reigns that grandeur of sentiment, style, and imagery, which ought ever to distinguish this high species of poetry. The story is conducted with no small art. The poet goes not back to a tedious recital of the beginning of the war with Swaran; but hastening to the main action, he falls in exactly, by a most happy coincidence of thought, with the rule of Horace.

Semper ad eventum festinat, et in medias res,  
 Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit-----  
 Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo.

De Arte Poet.

He invokes no muse, for he acknowledged none; but his occasional addresses to Malvina, have a finer effect than the invocation of any muse. He sets out with no formal proposition of his subject; but the subject naturally and easily unfolds itself; the poem opening in an animated manner, with the situation of Cuchullin, and the arrival of a scout who informs him of Swaran's landing. Mention is presently made of Fingal, and of the expected assistance from the ships of the lonely isle,

in order to give further light to the subject. For the poet often shews his address in gradually preparing us for the events he is to introduce; and in particular the preparation for the appearance of Fingal, the previous expectations that are raised, and the extreme magnificence fully answering these expectations, with which the hero is at length presented to us, are all worked up with such skilful conduct as would do honour to any poet of the most refined times. Homer's art in magnifying the character of Achilles has been universally admired. Ossian certainly shews no less art in aggrandizing Fingal. Nothing could be more happily imagined for this purpose than the whole management of the last battle, wherein Gaul the son of Morni, had besought Fingal to retire, and to leave to him and his other chiefs the honour of the day. The generosity of the king in agreeing to this proposal; the majesty with which he retreats to the hill, from whence he was to behold the engagement, attended by his Bards, and waving the lightning of his sword; his perceiving the chiefs overpowered by numbers, but from unwillingness to deprive them of the glory of victory by coming in person to their assistance, first sending Ullin, the Bard to animate their courage; and at last, when the danger becomes more pressing, his rising in his might, and interposing, like a divinity, to decide the doubtful fate of the day; are all circumstances contrived with so much art, as plainly discover the Celtic Bards to have been not unpractised in Heroic poetry.

The story which is the foundation of the Iliad is in itself as simple as that of Fingal. A quarrel arises between Achilles and Agamemnon concerning a female slave; on which, Achilles, apprehending himself to be injured, withdraws his assistance from

from the rest of the Greeks. The Greeks fall into great distress, and beseech him to be reconciled to them. He refuses to fight for them in person, but sends his friend Patroclus; and upon his being slain, goes forth to revenge his death, and kills Hector. The subject of Fingal is this; Swaran comes to invade Ireland: Cuchullin, the guardian of the young King, had applied for assistance to Fingal, who reigned in the opposite coast of Scotland. But before Fingal's arrival, he is hurried by rash counsel to encounter Swaran. He is defeated; he retreats; and desponds. Fingal arrives in this conjuncture. The battle is for some time dubious; but in the end he conquers Swaran; and the remembrance of Swaran's being the brother of Agandecca, who had once saved his life, makes him dismiss him honourably. Homer it is true has filled up his story with a much greater variety of particulars than Ossian; and in this has shewn a compass of invention superior to that of the other poet. But it must not be forgotten, that though Homer be more circumstantial, his incidents however are less diversified in kind than those of Ossian. War and bloodshed reign throughout the Iliad; and notwithstanding all the fertility of Homer's invention, there is so much uniformity in his subjects, that there are few readers, who before the close, are not tired of perpetual fighting. Whereas in Ossian, the mind is relieved by a more agreeable diversity. There is a finer mixture of war and heroism, with love and friendship, of martial, with tender scenes, than is to be met with, perhaps, in any other poet. The Episodes too, have great propriety; as natural, and proper to that age and country: consisting of the songs of Bards, which are known to have been the great entertainment of the Celtic heroes in war, as well as in peace.

These

These songs are not introduced at random ; if you except the Episode of Duchommar and Morna, in the first book, which though beautiful, is more unartful, than any of the rest ; they have always some particular relation to the actor who is interested, or to the events which are going on ; and, whilst they vary the scene, they preserve a sufficient connection with the main subject, by the fitness and propriety of their introduction.

As Fingal's love to Agandecca, influences some circumstances of the Poem, particularly the honourable dismissal of Swaran at the end ; it was necessary that we should be let into this part of the hero's story. But as it lay without the compass of the present action, it could be regularly introduced no where, except in an Episode. Accordingly the poet, with as much propriety, as if Aristotle himself had directed the plan, has contrived an Episode for this purpose in the song of Carril, at the beginning of the third book.

The conclusion of the poem is strictly according to rule ; and is every way noble and pleasing. The reconciliation of the contending heroes, the consolation of Cuchullin, and the general felicity that crowns the action, sooth the mind in a very agreeable manner, and form that passage from agitation and trouble, to perfect quiet and repose, which critics require as the proper termination of the Epic work. “ Thus they passed the night in  
 “ song, and brought back the morning with joy.  
 “ Fingal arose on the heath ; and shook his  
 “ glittering spear in his hand. He moved first to-  
 “ wards the plains of Lena ; and we followed like  
 “ a ridge of fire. Spread the sail, said the King of  
 “ Morven, and catch the winds that pour from  
 “ Lena.----We rose on the wave with songs ; and  
 “ rushed with joy through the foam of the ocean.”

---So much for the unity and general conduct of the Epic action in Fingal.

With regard to that property of the subject which Aristotle requires that it should be feigned not historical, he must not be understood so strictly, as if he meant to exclude all subjects which have any foundation in truth. For such exclusion would both be unreasonable in itself; and, what is more, would be contrary to the practice of Homer, who is known to have founded his Iliad on historical facts concerning the war of Troy, which was famous throughout all Greece. Aristotle means no more than that it is the business of a poet not to be a mere annalist of Facts, but to embellish truth with beautiful, probable, and useful fictions; to copy nature, as he himself explains it, like painters, who preserve a likeness, but exhibit their objects more grand and beautiful than they are in reality. That Ossian has followed this course, and building upon true history, has sufficiently adorned it with poetical fiction for aggrandizing his characters and facts, will not, I believe, be questioned by most readers. At the same time, the foundation which those facts and characters had in truth, and the share which the poet himself had in the transactions which he records, must be considered as no small advantage to his work. For truth makes an impression on the mind far beyond any fiction; and no man, let his imagination be ever so strong, relates any events so feelingly as those in which he has been interested; paints any scene so naturally as one which he has seen; or draws any characters in such strong colours as those which he has personally known. It is considered as an advantage of the Epic subject to be taken from a period so distant, as by being involved in the darkness of tradition, may give licence to fable. Though

Ossian's subject may at first view appear unfavourable in this respect, as being taken from his own times, yet when we reflect that he lived to an extreme old age; that he relates what had been transacted in another country, at the distance of many years, and after all that race of men who had been the actors were gone off the stage; we shall find the objection in a great measure obviated. In so rude an age, when no written records were known, when tradition was loose, and accuracy of any kind little attended to, what was great and heroic in one generation, easily ripened into the marvellous in the next.

The natural representation of human characters in an Epic Poem is highly essential to its merit: And in respect of this there can be no doubt of Homer's excelling all the heroic poets who have ever wrote. But though Ossian be much inferior to Homer in this article, he will be found to be equal at least, if not superior, to Virgil; and has indeed given all the display of human nature which the simple occurrences of his times could be expected to furnish. No dead uniformity of character prevails in Fingal; but on the contrary the principal characters are not only clearly distinguished, but sometimes artfully contrasted so as to illustrate each other. Ossian's heroes are like Homer's, all brave; but their bravery like those of Homer's too, is of different kinds. For instance; the prudent, the sedate, the modest and circumspect Connal, is finely opposed to the presumptuous, rash, overbearing, but gallant and generous Calmar. Calmar hurries Cuchullin into action by his temerity; and when he sees the bad effect of his counsels, he will not survive the disgrace. Connal, like another Ulysses, attends Cuchullin to his retreat, counsels, and comforts him under his misfortune.

tune. The fierce the proud, and high spirited Swaran is admirably contrasted with the calm, the moderate, and generous Fingal. The character of Oscar is a favourite one throughout the whole Poems. The amiable warmth of the young warrior; his eager impetuosity in the day of action; his passion for fame; his submission to his father; his tenderness for Malvina; are the strokes of a masterly pencil; the strokes are few; but it is the hand of nature, and attracts the heart. Ossian's own character, the old man, the hero, and the bard, all in one, presents to us through the whole work a most respectable and venerable figure, which we always contemplate with pleasure. Cuchullin is a hero of the highest class; daring, magnanimous, and exquisitely sensible to honour. We become attached to his interest, and are deeply touched with his distress; and after the admiration raised for him in the first part of the Poem, it is a strong proof of Ossian's masterly genius that he durst adventure to produce to us another hero, compared with whom, even the great Cuchullin, should be only an inferior personage; and who should rise as far above him, as Cuchullin rises above the rest.

Here indeed, in the character and description of Fingal, Ossian triumphs almost unrivalled: For we may boldly defy all antiquity to shew us any hero equal to Fingal. Homer's Hector possesses several great and amiable qualities; but Hector is a secondary personage in the Iliad, not the hero of the work. We see him only occasionally; we know much less of him than we do of Fingal; who not only in this Epic Poem, but in Temora, and throughout the rest of Ossian's works, is presented in all that variety of lights, which give the full display of a character. And though Hector faithfully



fully discharges his duty to his country, his friends, and his family, he is tinged, however, with a degree of the same savage ferocity, which prevails among all the Homeric heroes. For we find him insulting over the fallen Patroclus, with the most cruel taunts, and telling him when he lies in the agony of death, that Achilles cannot help him now; and that in a short time his body, stripped naked, and deprived of funeral honours, shall be devoured by the vulturs\*. Whereas in the character of Fingal, concur almost all the qualities that can ennoble human nature; that can either make us admire the hero, or love the man. He is not only unconquerable in war, but he makes his people happy by his wisdom in the days of peace. He is truly the father of his people. He is known by the epithet of “Fingal of the mildest look;” and distinguished on every occasion, by humanity and generosity. He is merciful to his foes†; full of affection to his children; full of concern about his friends; and never mentions Agandecca, his first love, without the utmost tenderness. He is the universal protector of the distressed; “None  
 “ ever went sad from Fingal.”-----“ O Oscar!  
 “ bend the strong in arms; but spare the feeble  
 C “ hand.

\* Iliad 16. 830. Il. 17. 127.

† When he commands his sons, after Swaran is taken prisoner, to “pursue the rest of Lochlin, over the heath  
 “ of Lena; that no vessel may hereafter bound on the  
 “ dark-rolling waves of Inistore; he means not assuredly, as some have misrepresented him, to order a general slaughter of the foes, and to prevent their saving themselves by flight; but, like a wise general, he commands his chiefs to render the victory compleat, by a total rout of the enemy; that they might adventure no more for the future, to fit out any fleet against him or his allies.

“ hand. Be thou a stream of many tides against  
 “ the foes of thy people : but like the gale that  
 “ moves the grass, to those who ask thine aid.  
 “ So Tremmor lived ; such Trathal was ; and  
 “ such has Fingal been. My arm was the support  
 “ of the injured ; the weak rested behind the light-  
 “ ning of my steel.”---These were the maxims of  
 true heroism, to which he formed his grandson.  
 His fame is represented as every where spread ; the  
 greatest heroes acknowledge his superiority ; his  
 enemies tremble at his name ; and the highest en-  
 comium that can be bestowed on one whom the  
 poet would most exalt, is to say, that his soul was  
 like the soul of Fingal.

To do justice to the poet's merit, in supporting  
 such a character as this, I must observe what is  
 not commonly attended to, that there is no part  
 of poetical execution more difficult, than to draw  
 a perfect character in such a manner, as to render  
 it distinct and affecting to the mind. Some strokes  
 of human imperfection and frailty, are what usual-  
 ly give us the most clear view, and the most sen-  
 sible impression of a character ; because they pre-  
 sent to us a man, such as we have seen ; they re-  
 call known features of human nature. When poets  
 attempt to go beyond this range, and describe a  
 faultless hero, they, for the most part, set before  
 us a sort of vague undistinguishable character, such  
 as the imagination cannot lay hold of, or realize  
 to itself, as the object of affection. We know  
 how much Virgil has failed in this particular.  
 His perfect hero, Æneas, is an unanimated, in-  
 sipid personage, whom we may pretend to admire,  
 but whom no one can heartily love. But what  
 Virgil has failed in, Ossian, to our astonishment,  
 has

has successfully executed. His Fingal, though exhibited without any of the common human failings, is nevertheless a real man; a character which touches and interests every reader. To this it has much contributed, that the poet has represented him as an old man; and by this has gained the advantage of throwing around him a great many circumstances, peculiar to that age, which paint him to the fancy in a more distinct light. He is surrounded with his family; he instructs his children in the principles of virtue; he is narrative of his past exploits; he is venerable with the grey locks of age; he is frequently disposed to moralize, like an old man, on human vanity and the prospect of death. There is more art, at least more felicity, in this, than may at first be imagined. For youth and old age, are the two states of human life, capable of being placed in the most picturesque lights. Middle age is more general and vague; and has fewer circumstances peculiar to the idea of it. And when any object is in a situation, that admits it to be rendered particular, and to be cloathed with a variety of circumstances, it always stands out more clear and full in poetical description.

Besides human personages, divine or supernatural agents are often introduced into epic poetry; forming what is called the machinery of it; which most critics hold to be an essential part. The marvellous, it must be admitted, has always a great charm for the bulk of readers. It gratifies the imagination, and affords room for striking and sublime description. No wonder therefore, that all poets should have a strong propensity towards it. But I must observe, that nothing is more difficult, than to adjust properly the marvellous

with the probable. If a poet sacrifice probability, and fill his work with extravagant supernatural scenes, he spreads over it an appearance of romance and childish fiction; he transports his readers from this world, into a phantastick, visionary region; and loses that weight and dignity which should reign in epic poetry. No work, from which probability is altogether banished, can make a lasting or deep impression. Human actions and manners, are always the most interesting objects which can be presented to a human mind. All machinery, therefore, is faulty, which withdraws these too much from view; or obscures them under a cloud of incredible fictions. Besides being temperately employed, machinery ought always to have some foundation in popular belief. A poet is by no means at liberty to invent what system of the marvellous he pleases: He must avail himself either of the religious faith, or the superstitious credulity of the country wherein he lives; so as to give an air of probability to events which are most contrary to the common course of nature.

In these respects, Ossian appears to me to have been remarkably happy. He has indeed followed the same course with Homer. For it is perfectly absurd to imagine, as some critics have done, that Homer's mythology was invented by him, in consequence of profound reflections on the benefit it would yield to poetry. Homer was no such refining genius. He found the traditionary stories on which he built his Iliad, mingled with popular legends, concerning the intervention of the gods; and he adopted these, because they amused the fancy. Ossian, in like manner, found the tales of his country full of ghosts and spirits: It is likely he believed them himself; and he introduced them, because they

they gave his poems that solemn and marvellous cast, which suited his genius. This was the only machinery he could employ with propriety; because it was the only intervention of supernatural beings, which agreed with the common belief of the country. It was happy; because it did not interfere in the least, with the proper display of human characters and actions; because it had less of the incredible, than most other kinds of poetical machinery; and because it served to diversify the scene, and to heighten the subject by an awful grandeur, which is the great design of machinery.

As Ossian's mythology is peculiar to himself, and makes a considerable figure in his other poems, as well as in Fingal, it may be proper to make some observations on it, independent of its subserviency to epic composition. It turns for the most part on the appearances of departed spirits. These, consonantly to the notions of every rude age, are represented not as purely immaterial, but as thin airy forms, which can be visible or invisible at pleasure; their voice is feeble; their arm is weak; but they are endowed with knowledge more than human. In a separate state, they retain the same dispositions which animated them in this life. They ride on the wind; they bend their airy bows; and pursue deer formed of clouds. The ghosts of departed bards continue to sing. The ghosts of departed heroes frequent the fields of their former fame. "They rest together in their caves, and talk of mortal men. Their songs are of other worlds. They come sometimes to the ear of rest, and raise their feeble voice." All this presents to us much the same set of ideas, concerning spirits, as we find in the eleventh book of the *Odyssæy*, where Ulysses visits the regions of the dead: And

in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, the ghost of Patroclus, after appearing to Achilles, vanishes precisely like one of Ossian's, emitting a shrill, feeble cry, and melting away like smoke.

But though Homer's and Ossian's ideas concerning ghosts were of the same nature, we cannot but observe, that Ossian's ghosts are drawn with much stronger and livelier colours than those of Homer. Ossian describes ghosts with all the particularity of one who had seen and conversed with them, and whose imagination was full of the impression they had left upon it. He calls up those awful and tremendous ideas which the

-----*Simulacra modis pallentia miris,*  
are fitted to raise in the human mind; and which, in Shakespear's style, harrow up the soul." Crugal's ghost, in particular, in the beginning of the second book of Fingal, may vie with any appearance of this kind, described by any epic or tragic poet whatever. Most poets would have contented themselves with telling us, that he resembled, in every particular, the living Crugal; that his form and dress were the same, only his face more pale and sad; and that he bore the mark of the wound by which he fell. But Ossian sets before our eyes a spirit from the invisible world, distinguished by all those features, which a strong astonished imagination would give to a ghost. "A  
" dark-red stream of fire comes down from the hill.  
" Crugal sat upon the beam; he that lately fell by  
" the hand of Swaran, striving in the battle of he-  
" roes. His face is like the beam of the setting  
" moon. His robes are of the clouds of the hill.  
" His eyes are like two decaying flames. Dark  
" is the wound of his breast.-----The stars dim-  
" twinkled through his form; and his voice was like  
" the

“ the sound of a distant stream.” The circumstance of the stars being beheld, “ dim-twinkling through his form,” is wonderfully picturesque; and conveys the most lively impression of his thin and shadowy substance. The attitude in which he is afterwards placed, and the speech put into his mouth, are full of that solemn and awful sublimity, which suits the subject. “ Dim, and in tears, he stood and stretched his pale hand over the hero. Faintly he raised his feeble voice, like the gale of the reedy Lego.---My ghost, O Connal! is on my native hills; but my corse is on the sands of Ullin. Thou shalt never talk with Crugal, or find his lone steps in the heath. I am light as the blast of Cromla; and I move like the shadow of mist. Connal, son of Colgar! I see the dark cloud of death. It hovers over the plains of Lena. The sons of green Erin shall fall. Remove from the field of ghosts.---Like the darkened moon he retired in the midst of the whistling blast.”

Several other appearances of spirits might be pointed out, as among the most sublime passages of Ossian's poetry. The circumstances of them are considerably diversified; and the scenery always suited to the occasion. “ Oscar slowly ascends the hill. The meteors of night set on the heath before him. A distant torrent faintly roars. Unfrequent blasts rush through aged oaks. The half-enlightened moon sinks dim and red behind her hill. Feeble voices are heard on the heath. Oscar drew his sword.”---Nothing can prepare the fancy more happily for the awful scene that is to follow. “ Trenmor came from his hill, at the voice of his mighty son. A cloud, like the steed of the stranger, supported his airy limbs. His robe is of the mist



“ of Lano, that brings death to the people. His  
 “ sword is a green meteor, half-extinguished.  
 “ His face is without form, and dark. He sigh-  
 “ ed thrice over the hero: And thrice, the winds  
 “ of the night roared around. Many were his  
 “ words to Oscar---He slowly vanished, like a  
 “ mist that melts on the sunny hill.” To appear-  
 ances of this kind, we can find no parallel among  
 the Greek or Roman poets. They bring to mind  
 that noble description in the book of Job: “ In  
 “ thoughts from the visions of the night, when  
 “ deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me,  
 “ and trembling, which made all my bones to  
 “ shake. Then a spirit passed before my face.  
 “ The hair of my flesh stood up. It stood still;  
 “ but I could not discern the form thereof. An  
 “ image was before mine eyes. There was fi-  
 “ lence; and I heard a voice---Shall mortal man  
 “ be more just than God\*?”

As Ossian's supernatural beings are described with a surprizing force of imagination, so they are introduced with propriety. We have only three ghosts in Fingal: That of Crugal, which comes to warn the host of impending destruction, and to advise them to save themselves by retreat; that of Evirallin, the spouse of Ossian, which calls him to rise and rescue their son from danger; and that of Agandecca, which just before the last engagement with Swaran, moves Fingal to pity, by mourning for the approaching destruction of her kinsmen and people. In the other poems, ghosts sometimes appear when invoked to foretel futurity; frequently, according to the notions of these times, they come as fore-runners of misfortune or death to those whom they visit; sometimes they inform their friends at a distance, of their own death;

\* Job iv. 13—17.



death; and sometimes they are introduced to heighten the scenery on some great and solemn occasion. "A hundred oaks burn to the wind; and faint light gleams over the heath. The ghosts of Ardven pass through the beam; and shew their dim and distant forms. Comala is half-unseen on her meteor; and Hidallan is fullen and dim."-----"The awful faces of other times, looked from the clouds of Crona."-----"Fercuth! I saw the ghost of night. Silent he stood on that bank; his robe of mist flew on the wind. I could behold his tears. An aged man he seemed, and full of thought."

The ghosts of strangers mingle not with those of the natives. "She is seen; but not like the daughters of the hill. Her robes are from the strangers land; and she is still alone." When the ghost of one whom we had formerly known is introduced, the propriety of the living character is still preserved. This is remarkable in the appearance of Calmar's ghost, in the poem entitled The Death of Cuchullin. He seems to forebode Cuchullin's death, and to beckon him to his cave. Cuchullin reproaches him for supposing that he could be intimidated by such prognostics. "Why dost thou bend thy dark eyes on me, ghost of the car-borne Calmar! Would'st thou frighten me, O Matha's son! from the battles of Cormac? Thy hand was not feeble in war; neither was thy voice for peace. How art thou changed, chief of Lara! if now thou dost advise to fly!---Retire thou to thy cave: Thou art not Calmar's ghost: He delighted in battle; and his arm was like the thunder of heaven." Calmar makes no return to this seeming reproach:

But, "He retired in his blast with joy; for he had heard the voice of his praise." This is precisely the ghost of Achilles in Homer; who, notwithstanding all the dissatisfaction he expresses with his state in the region of the dead, as soon as he had heard his son Neoptolemus praised for his gallant behaviour, strode away with silent joy to rejoin the rest of the shades\*.

It is a great advantage of Ossian's mythology, that it is not local and temporary, like that of most other ancient poets; which of course is apt to seem ridiculous, after the superstitions have passed away on which it was founded. Ossian's mythology is, to speak so, the mythology of human nature; for it is founded on what has been the popular belief, in all ages and countries, and under all forms of religion, concerning the appearances of departed spirits. Homer's machinery is always lively and amusing; but far from being always supported with proper dignity. The indecent squabbles among his gods, surely do no honour to epic poetry. Whereas Ossian's machinery has dignity upon all occasions. It is indeed a dignity of the dark and awful kind; but this is proper; because coincident with the strain and spirit of the poetry. A light and gay mythology, like Homer's, would have been perfectly unsuitable to the subjects on which Ossian's genius was employed. But though his machinery be always solemn, it is not, however, always dreary or dismal: it is enlivened, as much as the subject would permit, by those pleasant and beautiful appearances, which he sometimes introduces, of the spirits of the hill. These are gentle spirits; descending on  
sun-

\* Odyss. Lib. II.

sun-beams ; fair-moving on the plain ; their forms white and bright ; their voices sweet ; and their visits to men propitious. The greatest praise that can be given, to the beauty of a living woman, is to say, “ She is fair as the ghost of the hill ; when “ it moves in a sun-beam at noon, over the silence “ of Morven.”----“ The hunter shall hear my “ voice from his booth. He shall fear but love “ my voice. For sweet shall my voice be for my “ friends ; for pleasant were they to me.”

Besides ghosts, or the spirits of departed men, we find in Ossian some instances of other kinds of machinery. Spirits of a superior nature to ghosts are sometimes alluded to, which have power to embroil the deep ; to call forth winds and storms, and pour them on the land of the stranger ; to overturn forests, and to send death among the people. We have prodigies too ; a shower of blood ; and when some disaster is befalling at a distance, the sound of death heard on the strings of Ossian’s harp : all perfectly consonant, not only to the peculiar ideas of northern nations, but to the general current of a superstitious imagination in all countries. The description of Fingal’s airy hall, in the poem called Berathon, and of the ascent of Malvina into it, deserves particular notice, as remarkably noble and magnificent. But above all, the engagement of Fingal with the spirit of Loda, in Carric-thura, cannot be mentioned without admiration. I forbear transcribing the passage, as it must have drawn the attention of every one who has read the works of Ossian. The undaunted courage of Fingal, opposed to all the terrors of the Scandinavian God ; the appearance and the speech of that awful spirit ; the wound which he receives, and the shriek which he sends forth,

“ as rolled into himself he rose upon the wind ;” are full of the most amazing and terrible majesty. I know no passage more sublime in the writings of any uninspired author. The fiction is calculated to aggrandize the hero ; which it does to a high degree ; nor is it so unnatural or wild a fiction, as might at first be thought. According to the notions of those times, supernatural beings were material, and consequently, vulnerable. The spirit of Loda was not acknowledged as a deity by Fingal ; he did not worship at the stone of his power ; he plainly considered him as the God of his enemies only ; as a local deity, whose dominion extended no farther than to the regions where he was worshipped ; who had, therefore, no title to threaten him, and no claim to his submission.

We know there are poetical precedents of great authority, for fictions fully as extravagant ; and if Homer be forgiven for making Diomed attack and wound in battle, the gods whom that chief himself worshipped, Ossian surely is pardonable for making his hero superior to the god of a foreign territory\*.

Not-

\* The scene of this encounter of Fingal with the spirit of Loda is laid in Inistore, or the islands of Orkney ; and in the description of Fingal’s landing there, it is said, “ A rock bends along the coast with all its echoing wood. On the top is the circle of Loda, with the mossy stone of power.” In confirmation of Ossian’s topography, it is proper to acquaint the reader that in these islands, as I have been well informed, there are many pillars, and circles of stones, still remaining, known by the name of the stones and circles of Loda, or Lodea ; to which some degree of superstitious regard is annexed to this day. These islands, until the year 1468, made a part of the Danish dominions. Their  
ancient

Notwithstanding the poetical advantages which I have ascribed to Ossian's machinery, I acknowledge it would have been much more beautiful and perfect, had the author discovered some knowledge of a supreme Being. Although his silence on this head has been accounted for by the learned and ingenious translator in a very probable manner, yet still it must be held a considerable disadvantage to the poetry. For the most august and lofty ideas that can embellish poetry, are derived from the belief of a divine administration of the universe: And hence the invocation of a supreme Being, or at least of some superior powers who are conceived as presiding over human affairs, the solemnities of religious worship, prayers preferred, and assistance implored on critical occasions, appear with great dignity in the works of almost all poets as chief ornaments of their compositions. The absence of all such religious ideas from Ossian's poetry, is a sensible blank in it; the more to be regretted, as we can easily imagine what an illustrious figure they would have made under the management of such a genius as his; and how finely they would have been adapted to many situations which occur in his works.

After

ancient language, of which there are yet some remains among the natives, is called the *Norse*; and is a dialect; not of the Celtic, but of the Scandinavian tongue. The manners and the superstitions of the inhabitants, are quite distinct from those of the Highlands and western isles of Scotland. Their ancient songs too, are of a different strain and character, turning upon magical incantations and evocations from the dead, which were the favourite subjects of the old Runic poetry. They have many traditions among them of wars in former times with the inhabitants of the western islands,

After so particular an examination of Fingal, it were needless to enter into as full a discussion of the conduct of Temora, the other Epic Poem. Many of the same observations, especially with regard to the great characteristics of heroic poetry, apply to both. The high merit, however, of Temora, requires that we should not pass it by without some remarks.

The scene of Temora, as of Fingal, is laid in Ireland; and the action is of a posterior date. The subject is, an expedition of the hero, to dethrone and punish a bloody usurper, and to restore the possession of the kingdom to the posterity of the lawful prince; an undertaking worthy of the justice and heroism of the great Fingal. The action is one, and compleat. The poem opens with the descent of Fingal on the coast, and the consultation held among the chiefs of the enemy. The murder of the young prince Cormac, which was the cause of the war, being antecedent to the epic action, is introduced with great propriety as an episode in the first book. In the progress of the poem, three battles are described, which rise in their importance above one another; the success is various, and the issue for some time doubtful; till at last, Fingal brought into distress, by the wound of his great general Gaul, and the death of his son Fillan, assumes the command himself, and having slain the Irish king in single combat, restores the rightful heir to his throne.

Temora has perhaps less fire than the other epic poem; but in return it has more variety, more tenderness, and more magnificence. The reigning idea, so often presented to us of "Fingal in the last of his fields," is venerable and affecting; nor could any more noble conclusion be thought of, than the aged hero, after so many successful

achievements, taking his leave of battles, and with all the solemnities of those times resigning his spear to his son. The events are less crowded in *Temora* than in *Fingal*; actions and characters are more particularly displayed; we are let into the transactions of both hosts; and informed of the adventures of the night as well as of the day. The still pathetic, and the romantic scenery of several of the night adventures, so remarkably suited to Ossian's genius, occasion a fine diversity in the poem; and are happily contrasted with the military operations of the day.

In most of our author's poems, the horrors of war are softened by intermixed scenes of love and friendship. In *Fingal*, these are introduced as episodes; in *Temora*, we have an incident of this nature wrought into the body of the piece; in the adventure of *Cathmor* and *Sulmalla*. This forms one of the most conspicuous beauties of that poem. The distress of *Sulmalla*, disguised and unknown among strangers, her tender and anxious concern for the safety of *Cathmor*, her dream, and her melting remembrance of the land of her fathers; *Cathmor's* emotion when he first discovers her, his struggles to conceal and suppress his passion, lest it should unman him in the midst of war, though "his soul poured forth in secret, when he beheld her fearful eye;" and the last interview between them, when overcome by her tenderness, he lets her know he had discovered her, and confesses his passion; are all wrought up with the most exquisite sensibility and delicacy.

Besides the characters which appeared in *Fingal*, several new ones are here introduced; and though, as they are all the characters of warriors, bravery is the predominant feature, they are nevertheless diversified in a sensible and striking manner. *Foldath*,



dath, for instance, the general of Cathmor, exhibits the perfect picture of a savage chieftain: Bold and daring, but presumptuous, cruel, and overbearing. He is distinguished, on his first appearance, as the friend of the tyrant Cairbar; "His stride is haughty, his red eye rolls in wrath." In his person and whole deportment, he is contrasted with the mild and wise Hidalla, another leader of the same army, on whose humanity and gentleness he looks with great contempt. He professedly delights in strife and blood. He insults over the fallen. He is imperious in his counsels, and factious when they are not followed. He is unrelenting in all his schemes of revenge, even to the length of denying the funeral song to the dead; which, from the injury thereby done to their ghosts, was in those days considered as the greatest barbarity. Fierce to the last, he comforts himself in his dying moments with thinking that his ghost shall often leave its blast to rejoice over the graves of those he had slain. Yet Ossian, ever prone to the pathetic, has contrived to throw into his account of the death, even of this man, some tender circumstances; by the moving description of his daughter Dardulena, the last of his race.

The character of Foldath tends much to exalt that of Cathmor, the chief commander, which is distinguished by the most humane virtues. He abhors all fraud and cruelty, is famous for his hospitality to strangers: open to every generous sentiment, and to every soft and compassionate feeling. He is so amiable as to divide the reader's attachment between him and the hero of the poem; though our author has artfully managed it so, as to make Cathmor himself indirectly acknowledge Fingal's superiority, and to appear somewhat apprehensive of the event, after the death of Fillan,

which



which he knew would call forth Fingal in all his might. It is very remarkable, that although Ossian has introduced into his poems three compleat heroes, Cuchullin, Cathmor, and Fingal, he has, however, sensibly distinguished each of their characters. Cuchullin is particularly honourable; Cathmor particularly amiable; Fingal wise and great, retaining an ascendant peculiar to himself in whatever light he is viewed.

But the favourite figure in Temora, and the one most highly finished, is Fillan. His character is of that sort, for which Ossian shews a particular fondness; an eager, fervent young warrior, fired with all the impatient enthusiasm for military glory, peculiar to that time of life. He had sketched this in the description of his own son Oscar; but as he has extended it more fully in Fillan, and as the character is so consonant to the epic strain, though so far as I remember, not placed in such a conspicuous light by any other epic poet, it may be worth while to attend a little to Ossian's management of it in this instance.

Fillan was the youngest of all the sons of Fingal; younger, it is plain, than his nephew Oscar, by whose fame and great deeds in war, we may naturally suppose his ambition to have been highly stimulated. Withal, as he is younger, he is described as more rash and fiery. His first appearance is soon after Oscar's death, when he was employed to watch the motions of the foe by night. In a conversation with his brother Ossian, on that occasion, we learn that it was not long since he began to lift the spear. "Few are the marks of my sword in battle; but my soul is fire." He is with some difficulty restrained by Ossian from going to attack the enemy; and complains to him, that his father had never allowed him any opportunity of signaling

lizing his valour. “The king hath not remarked  
 “ my sword ; I go forth with the croud ; I return  
 “ without my fame.” Soon after, when Fingal  
 according to custom was to appoint one of his  
 chiefs to command the army, and each was stand-  
 ing forth, and putting in his claim to this honour,  
 Fillan is presented in the following most pictu-  
 resque and natural attitude. “On his spear stood  
 “ the son of Clatho, in the wandering of his locks.  
 “ Thrice he raised his eyes to Fingal: his voice  
 “ thrice failed him as he spoke---Fillan could not  
 “ boast of battles---at once he strode away. Bent  
 “ over a distant stream he stood ; the tear hung in  
 “ his eye. He struck at times, the thistle’s head,  
 “ with his inverted spear.” No less natural and  
 beautiful is the description of Fingal’s paternal  
 emotion on this occasion. “Nor is he unseen of  
 “ Fingal. Side-long he beheld his son. He be-  
 “ held him with bursting joy. He hid the big  
 “ tear with his locks, and turned amidst his  
 “ crouded soul.” The command for that day,  
 being given to Gaul, Fillan rushes amidst the  
 thickest of the foe, saves Gaul’s life, who is wound-  
 ed by a random arrow, and distinguishes himself so  
 in battle, that “the days of old return on Fingal’s  
 “ mind, as he beholds the renown of his son. As  
 “ the sun rejoices from the cloud, over the tree  
 “ his beams have raised, whilst it shakes its lonely  
 “ head on the heath, so joyful is the king over  
 “ Fillan.” Sedate however, and wise, he mixes  
 the praise which he bestows on him with some re-  
 prehension of his rashness. “My son, I saw thy  
 “ deeds, and my soul was glad. Thou art brave,  
 “ son of Clatho, but headlong in the strife. So  
 “ did not Fingal advance, tho’ he never feared  
 “ a foe.

“ a foe. Let thy people be a ridge behind thee;  
 “ they are thy strength in the field. Then shalt  
 “ thou be long renowned, and behold the tombs  
 “ of thy fathers.”

On the next day, the greatest and the last of Fillan's life, the charge is committed to him of leading on the host to battle. Fingal's speech to his troops on this occasion is full of noble sentiment; and where he recommends his son to their care, extremely touching. “ A young beam is before  
 “ you; few are his steps to war. They are few,  
 “ but he is valiant; defend my dark-haired son.  
 “ Bring him back with joy; hereafter he may stand  
 “ alone. His form is like his fathers; his soul is  
 “ a flame of their fire.” When the battle begins, the poet puts forth his strength to describe the exploits of the young hero; who, at last encountering and killing with his own hand Foldath the opposite general, attains the pinnacle of glory. In what follows, when the fate of Fillan is drawing near, Ossian, if any where, excels himself. Foldath being slain, and a general rout begun, there was no resource left to the enemy but in the great Cathmor himself, who in this extremity descends from the hill, where, according to the custom of those princes, he surveyed the battle. Observe how this critical event is wrought up by the poet.  
 “ Wide spreading over echoing Lubar, the flight  
 “ of Bolga is rolled along. Fillan hung forward  
 “ on their steps; and strewed the heath with dead.  
 “ Fingal rejoiced over his son.----Blue-shielded  
 “ Cathmor rose.---Son of Alpin, bring the harp!  
 “ Give Fillan's praise to the wind; raise high his  
 “ praise in my hall, while yet he shines in war.  
 “ Leave, blue-eyed Clatho! leave thy hall; be-  
 “ hold that early beam of thine! The host is  
 “ withered in its course. No farther look---it is  
 “ dark

“ dark---light-trembling from the harp, strike,  
 “ virgins! strike the sound.” The sudden in-  
 terruption, and suspense of the narration on Cath-  
 mor’s rising from his hill, the abrupt bursting into  
 the praise of Fillan, and the passionate apostrophe  
 to his mother Clatho, are admirable efforts of poet-  
 ical art, in order to interest us in Fillan’s danger;  
 and the whole is heightened by the immediately  
 following simile, one of the most magnificent and  
 sublime that is to be met with in any poet, and  
 which if it had been found in Homer, would have  
 been the frequent subject of admiration to critics;  
 “ Fillan is like a spirit of heaven, that descends  
 “ from the skirt of his blast. The troubled ocean  
 “ feels his steps, as he strides from wave to wave.  
 “ His path kindles behind him: islands shake  
 “ their heads on the heaving seas.”

But the poet’s art is not yet exhausted. The fall  
 of this noble young warrior, or, in Ossian’s stile,  
 the extinction of this beam of heaven, could not  
 be rendered too interesting and affecting. Our at-  
 tention is naturally drawn towards Fingal. He be-  
 holds from his hill the rising of Cathmor, and the  
 danger of his son. But what shall he do? “ Shall  
 “ Fingal rise to his aid, and take the sword of  
 “ Luno? What then should become of thy fame,  
 “ son of white-bosomed Clatho? Turn not thine  
 “ eyes from Fingal, daughter of Inistore! I shall  
 “ not quench thy early beam---No cloud of mine  
 “ shall rise, my son, upon thy soul of fire.”  
 Struggling between concern for the fame, and fear  
 for the safety of his son, he withdraws from the  
 sight of the engagement; and dispatches Ossian in  
 haste to the field, with this affectionate and deli-  
 cate injunction. “ Father of Oscar!” addressing  
 him by a title which on this occasion has the  
 highest

highest propriety, "Father of Oscar! lift the  
 " spear; defend the young in arms. But conceal  
 " thy steps from Fillan's eyes: He must not know  
 " that I doubt his steel."-----Ossian arrived too  
 late.---But unwilling to describe Fillan vanquished,  
 the poet suppresses all the circumstances of the  
 combat with Cathmor; and only shews us the  
 dying hero. We see him animated to the end  
 with the same martial and ardent spirit; breathing  
 his last in bitter regret for being so early cut off  
 from the field of glory. "Ossian, lay me in that  
 " hollow rock. Raise no stone above me; least  
 " one should ask about my fame. I am fallen in  
 " the first of my fields; fallen without renown.  
 " Let thy voice alone, send joy to my flying soul.  
 " Why should the bard know where dwells the  
 " early-fallen Fillan?"-----He who after tracing  
 the circumstances of this story, shall deny that our  
 bard is possessed of high sentiment and high art,  
 must be strangely prejudiced indeed. Let him  
 read the story of Pallas in Virgil, which is of a si-  
 milar kind; and after all the praise he may justly  
 bestow on the elegant and finished description of  
 that amiable auther, let him say, which of the two  
 poets unfolds most of the human soul.-----I wave  
 insisting on any more of the particulars in Temora;  
 as my aim is rather to lead the reader into the  
 genius and spirit of Ossian's poetry, than to dwell  
 on all his beauties.

The judgment and art discovered in conducting  
 works of such length as Fingal and Temora, dis-  
 tinguish them from the other poems in this collec-  
 tion. The smaller pieces, however, contain par-  
 ticular beauties no less eminent. They are histori-  
 cal poems, generally of the elegiac kind; and  
 plainly discover themselves to be the work of the  
 same author. One consistent face of manners is  
 every

every where presented to us ; one spirit of poetry reigns ; the masterly hand of Ossian appears throughout ; the same rapid and animated style ; the same strong colouring of imagination, and the same glowing sensibility of heart. Besides the unity which belongs to the compositions of one man, there is moreover a certain unity of subject which very happily connects all these poems. They form the poetical history of the age of Fingal. The same race of heroes whom we had met with in the greater poems, Cuchullin, Oscar, Connal and Gaul return again upon the stage ; and Fingal himself is always the principal figure, presented on every occasion, with equal magnificence, nay rising upon us to the last. The circumstances of Ossian's old age and blindness, his surviving all his friends, and his relating their great exploits to Malvina, the spouse or mistress of his beloved son Oscar, furnish the finest poetical situations that fancy could devise for that tender pathetic which reigns in Ossian's poetry.

On each of these poems, there might be room for separate observations, with regard to the conduct and disposition of the incidents, as well as to the beauty of the descriptions and sentiments. Carthon is a regular and highly finished piece. The main story is very properly introduced by Clessamor's relation of the adventure of his youth ; and this introduction is finely heightened by Fingal's song of mourning over Moina ; in which Ossian, ever fond of doing honour to his father, has contrived to distinguish him, for being an eminent poet, as well as warrior. Fingal's song upon this occasion, when " his thousand Bards leaned forwards from " their seats, to hear the voice of the King," is inferior to no passage in the whole book ; and with  
great

great judgment put in his mouth, as the seriousness, no less than the sublimity of the strain, is peculiarly suited to the Hero's character. In Darrthula, are assembled almost all the tender images that can touch the heart of man; friendship, love, the affections of parents, sons, and brothers, the distress of the aged, and the unavailing bravery of the young. The beautiful address to the moon, with which the poem opens, and the transition from thence to the subject, most happily prepare the mind for that train of affecting events that is to follow. The story is regular, dramatic, interesting to the last. He who can read it without emotion may congratulate himself, if he pleases, upon being completely armed against sympathetic sorrow. As Fingal had no occasion of appearing in the action of this poem, Ossian makes a very artful transition from his narration, to what was passing in the halls of Selma. The sound heard there on the strings of his harp, the concern which Fingal shews on hearing it, and the invocation of the ghosts of their fathers, to receive the Heroes falling in a distant land, are introduced with great beauty of imagination to increase the solemnity, and to diversify the scenery of the poem.

Carric-thura is full of the most sublime dignity; and has this advantage of being more chearful in the subject, and more happy in the catastrophe than most of the other poems: Though tempered at the same time with episodes in that strain of tender melancholy, which seems to have been the great delight of Ossian and the Bards of his age. Lathmon is peculiarly distinguished by high generosity of sentiment. This is carried so far, particularly in the refusal of Gaul, on one side, to take the advantage of a sleeping foe; and of Lathmon, on the other, to overpower by numbers  
the



the two young warriors, as to recall into one's mind the manners of Chivalry; some resemblance to which may perhaps be suggested by other incidents in this collection of Poems. Chivalry, however, took rise in an age and country too remote from those of Ossian, to admit the suspicion that the one could have borrowed any thing from the other. So far as Chivalry had any real existence, the same military enthusiasm, which gave birth to it in the feudal times, might, in the days of Ossian, that is, in the infancy of a rising state, through the operation of the same cause, very naturally produce effects of the same kind on the minds and manners of men. So far as Chivalry was an ideal system existing only in romance, it will not be thought surprizing, when we reflect on the account before given of the Celtic Bards, that this imaginary refinement of heroic manners should be found among them, as much at least, as among the *Trobadores*, or strolling Provençal Bards, in the 10th or 11th century; whose songs, it is said, first gave rise to those romantic ideas of heroism, which for so long a time enchanted Europe\*. Ossian's heroes have all the gallantry and generosity of those fabulous knights, without their extravagance; and his love scenes have native tenderness, without any mixture of those forced and unnatural conceits which abound in the old romances. The adventures related by our poet which resemble the most those of romance, concern women who follow their lovers to war disguised in the armour of men; and these are so managed as to produce, in the discovery, several of the most interesting situations; one beautiful instance of which may be seen in Carric-thura, and another in Calthon and Colmal.

Oithona

\* Vid. Huetius de origine fabularum Romanensium.



Oithona presents a situation of a different nature. In the absence of her lover Gaul, she had been carried off and ravished by Dunrommath. Gaul discovers the place where she is kept concealed, and comes to revenge her. The meeting of the two lovers, the sentiments and the behaviour of Oithona on that occasion, are described with such tender and exquisite propriety, as does the greatest honour, both to the art and to the delicacy of our author: and would have been admired in any poet of the most refined age. The conduct of Croma must strike every reader as remarkably judicious and beautiful. We are to be prepared for the death of Malvina, which is related in the succeeding Poem. She is therefore introduced in person; "she has heard a voice in  
 " a dream; she feels the fluttering of her soul;" and in a most moving lamentation addressed to her beloved Oscar, she sings her own Death Song. Nothing could be calculated with more art to soothe and comfort her, than the story which Ossian relates. In the young and brave Fovargormo, another Oscar is introduced; his praises are sung; and the happiness is set before her of those who die in their youth, "when their renown is around them; before the feeble behold  
 " them in the hall, and smile at their trembling  
 " hands."

But no where does Ossian's genius appear to greater advantage, than in Berrathon, which is reckoned the conclusion of his songs, "The last  
 " sound of the Voice of Cona."

Qualis olor noto positurus littore vitam,  
 Ingemit, et mœstis mulcens consentibus auras  
 Præfago queritur venientia funera cantu.

The whole train of ideas is admirably suited to the subject. Every thing is full of that invisible

world, into which the aged Bard believes himself now ready to enter. The airy hall of Fingal presents itself to his view; “ he sees the cloud that shall receive his ghost; he beholds the mist that shall form his robe when he appears on his hill;” and all the natural objects around him seem to carry the presages of death. “ The thistle shakes its beard to the wind. The flower hangs its heavy head---it seems to say, I am covered with the drops of heaven; the time of my departure is near, and the blast that shall scatter my leaves.” Malvina’s death is hinted to him in the most delicate manner by the son of Alpin. His lamentation over her, her apotheosis, or ascent to the habitation of heroes, and the introduction to the story which follows, from the mention which Ossian supposes the father of Malvina to make of him in the hall of Fingal, are all in the highest spirit of Poetry. “ And dost thou remember Ossian, O Toscar son of Comloch? The battles of our youth were many; our swords went together to the field.”---Nothing could be more proper than to end his songs with recording an exploit of the father of that Malvina, of whom his heart was now so full; and who, from first to last, had been such a favourite object throughout all his poems.

The scene of most of Ossian’s poems is laid in Scotland, or in the coast of Ireland opposite to the territories of Fingal. When the scene is in Ireland, we perceive no change of manners from those of Ossian’s native country. For as Ireland was undoubtedly peopled with Celtic tribes, the language, customs, and religion of both nations were the same. They had been separated from one another by migration, only a few generations, as it should seem, before our poet’s age; and they  
still

still maintained a close and frequent intercourse. But when the poet relates the expeditions of any of his heroes to the Scandinavian coast, or to the islands of Orkney, which were then part of the Scandinavian territory, as he does in Carric-thura, Sulmalla of Luncan, and Cathloda, the case is quite altered. Those countries were inhabited by nations of the Teutonic descent, who in their manners and religious rites differed widely from the Celtæ; and it is curious and remarkable, to find this difference clearly pointed out in the poems of Ossian. His descriptions bear the native marks of one who was present in the expeditions which he relates, and who describes what he had seen with his own eyes. No sooner are we carried to Lochlin, or the islands of Inistore, than we perceive that we are in a foreign region. New objects begin to appear. We meet every where with the stones and circles of Loda, that is, Odin, the great Scandinavian deity. We meet with the divinations and enchantments, for which it is well known those northern nations were early famous. “ There, mixed with the murmur of waters, rose  
 “ the voice of aged men, who called the forms of  
 “ night to aid them in their war;” whilst the Caledonian chiefs who assisted them, are described as standing at a distance, heedless of their rites. That ferocity of manners which distinguished those nations, also becomes conspicuous. In the combats of their chiefs there is a peculiar savageness; even their women are bloody and fierce. The spirit and the very ideas of Regner Lodbrog, that northern Scaldier whom I formerly quoted, occur to us again. “ The hawks,” Ossian makes one of the Scandinavian chiefs say, “ rush from all  
 “ their winds; they are wont to trace my course,

“ ---We rejoiced three days above the dead, and  
 “ called the hawks of heaven. They came from  
 “ all their winds, to feast on the foes of Annir.”

Dismissing now the separate consideration of any of our author's works, I proceed to make some observations on his manner of writing, under the general heads of Description, Imagery, and Sentiment.

A poet of original genius is always distinguished by his talent for description\*. A second rate writer discerns nothing new or peculiar in the object he means to describe. His conceptions of it are vague and loose ; his expressions feeble ; and of course the object is presented to us indistinctly and as through a cloud. But a true Poet makes us imagine that we see it before our eyes : he catches the distinguishing features ; he gives it the colours of life and reality ; he places it in such a light that a painter could copy after him. This happy talent is chiefly owing to a lively imagination, which first receives a strong impression of the object ; and then, by a proper selection of capital picturesque circumstances employed in describing it, transmits that impression in its full force to the imaginations of others. That Ossian possesses this descriptive power in a high degree, we have a clear proof from the effect which his descriptions produce upon the imaginations of those who read him with any degree of attention and taste. Few poets are more interesting. We contract an intimate acquaintance with his principal heroes. The characters, the manners, the face of the country become familiar ;

\* See the rules of poetical description excellently illustrated by lord Kaims, in his *Elements of Criticism*, vol. iii. chap. 21. Of narration and description.

we even think we could draw the figure of his ghosts: In a word, whilst reading him, we are transported as into a new region, and dwell among his objects as if they were all real.

It were easy to point out several instances of exquisite painting in the works of our author. Such, for instance, as the scenery with which Temora opens, and the attitude in which Cairbar is there presented to us; the description of the young prince Cormac, in the same book; and the ruins of Balclutha in Carthon. "I have  
 " seen the walls of Balclutha, but they were de-  
 " solate. The fire had resounded in the halls;  
 " and the voice of the people is heard no more.  
 " The stream of Clutha was removed from its  
 " place by the fall of the walls. The thistle  
 " shook there its lonely head: The moss whistled  
 " to the wind. The fox looked out from the  
 " windows; the rank grass of the wall waved  
 " round his head. Desolate is the dwelling of  
 " Moina; silence is in the house of her fathers." Nothing also can be more natural and lively than the manner in which Carthon afterwards describes how the conflagration of his city affected him when a child: "Have I not seen the fallen Balclutha?  
 " And shall I feast with Comhal's son? Comhal!  
 " who threw his fire in the midst of my father's  
 " hall! I was young, and knew not the cause  
 " why the virgins wept. The columns of smoke  
 " pleased mine eye, when they rose above my  
 " walls: I often looked back with gladness, when  
 " my friends fled above the hill. But when the  
 " years of my youth came on, I beheld the moss  
 " of my fallen walls. My sigh arose with the morn-  
 " ing; and my tears descended with night. Shall  
 " I not fight, I said to my soul, against the chil-  
 " dren of my foes? And I will fight, O Bard!

“ I feel the strength of my soul.” In the same poem, the assembling of the chiefs round Fingal, who had been warned of some impending danger by the appearance of a prodigy, is described with so many picturesque circumstances, that one imagines himself present in the assembly. “ The king alone beheld the terrible fight, and he fore-  
 “ saw the death of his people. He came in si-  
 “ lence to his hall, and took his father’s spear; the  
 “ mail rattled on his breast. The heroes rose  
 “ around. They looked in silence on each other,  
 “ marking the eyes of Fingal. They saw the  
 “ battle in his face.-----A thousand shields are  
 “ placed at once on their arms; and they drew a  
 “ thousand swords. The hall of Selma brighten-  
 “ ed around. The clang of arms ascends. The  
 “ grey dogs howl in their place. No word is  
 “ among the mighty chiefs. Each marked the  
 “ eyes of the King; and half assumed his spear.”

It has been objected to Ossian, that his descriptions of military actions are imperfect, and much less diversified by circumstances than those of Homer. This is in some measure true. The amazing fertility of Homer’s invention is no where so much displayed as in the incidents of his battles, and in the little history pieces he gives of the persons slain. Nor indeed, with regard to the talent of description, can too much be said in praise of Homer. Every thing is alive in his writings. The colours with which he paints are those of nature. But Ossian’s genius was of a different kind from Homer’s. It led him to hurry towards grand objects rather than to amuse himself with particulars of less importance. He could dwell on the death of a favourite hero: but that of a private man seldom stopped his rapid course. Homer’s genius was more comprehensive than Ossian’s. It includ-

included a wider circle of objects; and could work up any incident into description. Ossian's was more limited; but the region within which it chiefly exerted itself was the highest of all, the region of the pathetic and sublime.

We must not imagine, however, that Ossian's battles consist only of general indistinct description. Such beautiful incidents are sometimes introduced, and the circumstances of the persons slain so much diversified, as shew that he could have embellished his military scenes with an abundant variety of particulars, if his genius had led him to dwell upon them. One man "is stretched in the dust" of his native land; he fell, where often he had spread the feast, and often raised the voice of the harp." The maid of Inistore is introduced, in a moving apostrophe, as weeping for another; and a third, "as rolled in the dust he lifted his faint eyes to the king," is remembered and mourned by Fingal as the friend of Agandecca. The blood pouring from the wound of one who is slain by night, is heard "hissing on the half extinguished oak," which had been kindled for giving light: Another, climbing a tree to escape from his foe, is pierced by his spear from behind; "shrieking, panting he fell; whilst moss and withered branches pursue his fall, and strew the blue arms of Gaul." Never was a finer picture drawn of the ardour of two youthful warriors than the following: "I saw Gaul in his armour, and my soul was mixed with his: For the fire of the battle was in his eyes; he looked to the foe with joy. We spoke the words of friendship in secret; and the lightning of our swords poured together. We drew them behind the wood, and tried the strength of our arms on the empty air."



Ossian is always concise in his descriptions, which adds much to their beauty and force. For it is a great mistake to imagine, that a croud of particulars, or a very full and extended style, is of advantage to description. On the contrary, such a diffuse manner for the most part weakens it. Any one redundant circumstance is a nuisance. It encumbers and loads the fancy, and renders the main image indistinct. "Obstat," as Quintilian says with regard to style, "quicquid non adjuvat." To be concise in description, is one thing; and to be general, is another. No description that rests in generals can possibly be good; it can convey no lively idea; for it is of particulars only that we have a distinct conception. But at the same time, no strong imagination dwells long upon any one particular; or heaps together a mass of trivial ones. By the happy choice of some one, or of a few that are most striking, it presents the image more compleat, shews us more at one glance, than a feeble imagination is able to do, by turning its object round and round into a variety of lights. Tacitus is of all prose writers the most concise. He has even a degree of abruptness resembling our author: Yet no writer is more eminent for lively description. When Fingal, after having conquered the haughty Swaran, proposes to dismiss him with honour: "Raise to-morrow thy white sails to the wind, thou brother of Agandecca!" he conveys, by thus addressing his enemy, a stronger impression of the emotions then passing within his mind, than if whole paragraphs had been spent in describing the conflict between resentment against Swaran and the tender remembrance of his ancient love. No amplification is needed to give us the most full idea of a hardy  
veteran,



veteran, after the few following words: "His shield is marked with the strokes of battle; his red eye despises danger." When Oscar, left alone, was surrounded by foes, "he stood," it is said, "growing in his place, like the flood of the narrow vale;" a happy representation of one, who, by daring intrepidity in the midst of danger, seems to increase in his appearance, and becomes more formidable every moment, like the sudden rising of the torrent hemmed in by the valley. And a whole croud of ideas, concerning the circumstances of domestic sorrow occasioned by a young warrior's first going forth to battle, is poured upon the mind by these words: "Calmar leaned on his father's spear; that spear which he brought from Lara's hall, when the soul of his mother was sad."

The conciseness of Ossian's descriptions is the more proper on account of his subjects. Descriptions of gay and smiling scenes may, without any disadvantage, be amplified and prolonged. Force is not the predominant quality expected in these. The description may be weakened by being diffuse, yet notwithstanding, may be beautiful still. Whereas, with respect to grand, solemn and pathetic subjects, which are Ossian's chief field, the case is very different. In these, energy is above all things required. The imagination must be seized at once, or not at all; and is far more deeply impressed by one strong and ardent image, than by the anxious minuteness of laboured illustration.

But Ossian's genius, though chiefly turned towards the sublime and pathetic, was not confined to it: In subjects also of grace and delicacy, he discovers the hand of a master. Take for an example the following elegant description of Agan-

decca, wherein the tenderness of Tibullus seems united with the majesty of Virgil. "The daughter  
 " of the snow overheard, and left the hall of her  
 " secret sigh. She came in all her beauty; like  
 " the moon from the cloud of the East. Love-  
 " lines was around her as light. Her steps were  
 " like the music of songs. She saw the youth  
 " and loved him. He was the stolen sigh of her  
 " soul. Her blue eyes rolled on him in secret:  
 " And she blest the chief of Morven." Several  
 other instances might be produced of the feelings  
 of love and friendship painted by our author with  
 a most natural and happy delicacy.

The simplicity of Ossian's manner adds great beauty to his descriptions, and indeed to his whole Poetry. We meet with no affected ornaments; no forced refinement; no marks either in style or thought of a studied endeavour to shine and sparkle. Ossian appears every where to be prompted by his feelings; and to speak from the abundance of his heart. I remember no more than one instance of what can be called a quaint thought in this whole collection of his works. It is in the first book of Fingal, where from the tombs of two lovers two lonely yews are mentioned to have sprung, "whose branches wished to meet on high." This sympathy of the trees with the lovers, may be reckoned to border on an Italian conceit; and it is somewhat curious to find this single instance of that sort of wit in our Celtic poetry.

The "joy of grief," is one of Ossian's remarkable expressions, several times repeated. If any one shall think that it needs to be justified by a precedent, he may find it twice used by Homer: in the Iliad, when Achilles is visited by the ghost of Patroclus; and in the Odyssey, when Ulysses meets his mother in the shades. On both these

occasions, the heroes, melted with tenderness, lament their not having it in their power to throw their arms round the ghost, "that we might," say they, in a mutual embrace, enjoy the delight of "grief."

— *κρυερόιο τεταρπόμεσθε γόοιο \**

But in truth the expression stands in need of no defence from authority; for it is a natural and just expression; and conveys a clear idea of that gratification, which a virtuous heart often feels in the indulgence of a tender melancholy. Ossian makes a very proper distinction between this gratification, and the destructive effect of overpowering grief." "There is a joy in grief, when peace dwells in the breasts of the sad. But sorrow wastes the mournful, O daughter of Toſcar, and their days are few\*." To "give the joy of grief," generally signifies to raise the strain of soft and grave music; and finely characterises the taste of Ossian's age and country. In those days, when the songs of bards were the great delight of heroes, the tragic muse was held in chief honour; gallant actions, and virtuous sufferings, were the chosen theme; preferably to that light and trifling strain of poetry and music, which promotes light and trifling manners, and serves to emasculate the mind. "Strike the harp in my hall," said the great Fingal, in the midst of youth and victory, "Strike the harp in my hall, and let Fingal hear the song. Pleasant is the joy of grief! It is like the shower of spring, when it softens the branch of the oak; and the young leaf lifts its green head. Sing; on, O bards! To-morrow we lift the sail."

Personal epithets have been much used by all the poets of the most ancient ages: and when well cho-

\* Odyss. 11. 211. Iliad 23, 98.

chosen, not general and unmeaning, they contribute not a little to render the style descriptive and animated. Besides epithets founded on bodily distinctions, akin to many of Homer's, we find in Ossian several which are remarkably beautiful and poetical. Such as, Oscar of the future fights, Fingal of the mildest look, Carril of other times, the mildly blushing Evirallin; Bragela, the lonely sun-beam of Dunscach; a Culdee, the son of the secret cell.

But of all the ornaments employed in descriptive poetry, comparisons or similes are the most splendid. These chiefly form what is called the imagery of a poem: And as they abound so much in the works of Ossian, and are commonly among the favourite passages of all poets, it may be expected that I should be somewhat particular in my remarks upon them.

A poetical simile always supposes two objects brought together, between which there is some near relation or connection in the fancy. What that relation ought to be, cannot be precisely defined. For various, almost numberless, are the analogies formed among objects, by a sprightly imagination. The relation of actual similitude, or likeness of appearance, is far from being the only foundation of poetical comparison. Sometimes a resemblance in the effect produced by two objects, is made the connecting principle: Sometimes a resemblance in one distinguishing property or circumstance. Very often two objects are brought together in a simile, though they resemble one another, strictly speaking, in nothing, only, because they raise in the mind a train of similar, and what may be called, concordant ideas; so that the remembrance of the one, when recalled, serves to quicken and heighten the impression made by the other.

other. Thus, to give an instance from our poet, the pleasure with which an old man looks back on the exploits of his youth, has certainly no direct resemblance to the beauty of a fine evening; farther than that both agree in producing a certain calm, placid joy. Yet Ossian has founded upon this, one of the most beautiful comparisons that is to be met with in any poet. "Wilt thou not listen, son of the rock, to the song of Ossian? My soul is full of other times; the joy of my youth returns. Thus, the sun appears in the west, after the steps of his brightness have moved behind a storm. The green hills lift their dewy heads. The blue streams rejoice in the vale. The aged hero comes forth on his staff; and his grey hair glitters in the beam." Never was there a finer group of objects. It raises a strong conception of the old man's joy and elation of heart, by displaying a scene, which produces in every spectator, a corresponding train of pleasing emotions; the declining sun looking forth in his brightness after a storm; the chearful face of all nature; and the still life finely animated by the circumstance of the aged hero, with his staff and his grey locks; a circumstance both extremely picturesque in itself, and peculiarly suited to the main object of the comparison. Such analogies and associations of ideas as these, are highly pleasing to the fancy. They give opportunity for introducing many a fine poetical picture. They diversify the scene; they aggrandize the subject; they keep the imagination awake and sprightly. For as the judgment is principally exercised in distinguishing objects, and remarking the differences among those which seem like; so the highest amusement of the imagination is to trace likenesses and agreements among those which seem different.

The principal rules which respect poetical comparisons are, that they be introduced on proper occasions, when the mind is disposed to relish them; and not in the midst of some severe and agitating passion, which cannot admit this play of fancy; that they be founded on a resemblance neither too near and obvious, so as to give little amusement to the imagination in tracing it, nor too faint and remote, so as to be apprehended with difficulty; that they serve either to illustrate the principal object, and to render the conception of it, more clear and distinct; or at least to heighten and embellish it, by a suitable association of images\*.

Every country has a scenery peculiar to itself; and the imagery of a good poet will exhibit it. For as he copies after nature, his allusions will of course be taken from those objects which he sees around him, and which have often struck his fancy. For this reason, in order to judge of the propriety of poetical imagery, we ought to be in some measure, acquainted with the natural history of the country where the scene of the poem is laid. The introduction of foreign images betrays a poet, copying not from nature, but from other writers. Hence so many Lions, and Tygers, and Eagles and Serpents, which we meet with in the similes of modern poets; as if these animals had acquired some right to a place in poetical comparisons for ever, because employed by ancient authors. They employed them with propriety, as objects generally known in their country; but they are absurdly used for illustration by us, who know them only at second hand, or by description. To most readers of modern poetry, it were more to the purpose to describe Lions or Tygers by similes taken from men, than to compare men to Lions. Ossian is very cor-  
rect

\* See Elements of Criticism, ch. 19. vol. 3.

rect in this particular. His imagery is, without exception, copied from that face of nature, which he saw before his eyes; and by consequence may be expected to be lively. We meet with no Grecian or Italian scenery; but with the mists, and clouds, and storms of a northern mountainous region.

No poet abounds more in similes than Ossian. There are in this collection as many, at least, as in the whole Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. I am indeed inclined to think, that the works of both poets are too much crouded with them. Similes are sparkling ornaments; and like all things that sparkle, are apt to dazzle and tire us by their lustre. But if Ossian's similes be too frequent, they have this advantage of being commonly shorter than Homer's; they interrupt his narration less; he just glances aside to some resembling object, and instantly returns to his former track. Homer's similes include a wider range of objects. But in return, Ossian's are, without exception, taken from objects of dignity, which cannot be said for all those which Homer employs. The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, Clouds and Meteors, Lightning and Thunder, Seas and Whales, Rivers, Torrents, Winds, Ice, Rain, Snow, Dews, Mist, Fire and Smoke, Trees and Forests, Heath and Grass and Flowers, Rocks and Mountains, Music and Songs, Light and Darkness, Spirits and Ghosts; these form the circle, within which Ossian's comparisons generally run. Some, not many, are taken from Birds and Beasts; as Eagles, Sea Fowl, the Horse, the Deer, and the Mountain Bee; and a very few from such operations of art as were then known. Homer has diversified his imagery by many more allusions to the animal world; to Lions, Bulls, Goats, Herds of Cattle,  
Ser-

Serpents, Insects; and to the various occupations of rural and pastoral life. Ossian's defect in this article, is plainly owing to the desert, uncultivated state of his country, which suggested to him few images beyond natural inanimate objects, in their rudest form. The birds and animals of the country were probably not numerous; and his acquaintance with them was slender, as they were little subjected to the uses of man.

The great objection made to Ossian's imagery, is its uniformity, and the too frequent repetition of the same comparisons. In a work so thick sown with similes, one could not but expect to find images of the same kind sometimes suggested to the poet by resembling objects; especially to a poet like Ossian, who wrote from the immediate impulse of poetical enthusiasm, and without much preparation of study or labour. Fertile as Homer's imagination is acknowledged to be, who does not know how often his Lions and Bulls and Flocks of Sheep, recur with little or no variation; nay, sometimes in the very same words? The objection made to Ossian, is, however founded, in a great measure, upon a mistake. It has been supposed by inattentive readers, that wherever the Moon, the Cloud, or the Thunder, returns in a simile, it is the same simile, and the same Moon or Cloud, or Thunder which they had met with a few pages before. Whereas very often the similes are widely different. The object, whence they are taken, is indeed in substance the same; but the image is new; for the appearance of the object is changed; it is presented to the fancy in another attitude; and cloathed with new circumstances, to make it suit the different illustration for which it is employed. In this, lies Ossian's great art; in so happily varying the form of the few natural appearances with  
which



which he was acquainted, as to make them correspond to a great many different objects.

Let us take for one instance the Moon, which is very frequently introduced into his comparisons; as in northern climates, where the nights are long, the Moon is a greater object of attention, than in the climate of Homer; and let us view how much our poet has diversified its appearance. The shield of a warrior is like “the darkened moon when it  
“ moves a dun circle through the heavens.” The face of a ghost wan and pale, is like “the  
“ beam of the setting moon.” And a different appearance of a ghost, thin and indistinct, is like “the new moon seen through the gathered mist,  
“ when the sky pours down its flaky snow, and  
“ the world is silent and dark;” or in a different form still, it is like “the watery beam of the  
“ moon, when it rushes from between two clouds,  
“ and the midnight shower is on the field.” A very opposite use is made of the moon in the description of Agandecca: She came in all her  
“ beauty, like the moon from the cloud of the  
“ East.” Hope, succeeded by disappointment, is “joy rising on her face, and sorrow returning  
“ again, like a thin cloud on the moon.” But when Swaran, after his defeat, is cheered by Fingal’s generosity, “His face brightened like the  
“ full moon of heaven, when the clouds vanish  
“ away, and leave her calm and broad in the  
“ midst of the sky.” Venvela is “bright as the  
“ moon when it trembles o’er the western wave:” but the soul of the guilty Uthal is “dark as the  
“ troubled face of the moon, when it foretels the  
“ storm.” And by a very fanciful and uncommon allusion, it is said of Cormac, who was to die in his early years, “Nor long shalt thou lift the  
“ spear,

“spear, mildly shining beam of youth! Death  
 “stands dim behind thee, like the darkened half  
 “of the moon behind its growing light.”

Another instance of the same nature may be taken from mist, which, as being a very familiar appearance in the country of Ossian, he applies to a variety of purposes, and pursues through a great many forms. Sometimes, which one would hardly expect, he employs it to heighten the appearance of a beautiful object. The hair of Morna is  
 “like the mist of Cromla, when it curls on the  
 “rock, and shines to the beam of the west.”----  
 “The song comes with its musick to melt and  
 “please the ear. It is like soft mist, that rising  
 “from a lake pours on the silent vale. The  
 “green flowers are filled with dew. The sun re-  
 “turns in its strength, and the mist is gone\*.”----  
 But for the most part, mist is employed as a similitude of some disagreeable or terrible object. “The soul of Nathos was sad, like the sun in the  
 “day of mist, when his face is watery and dim.”  
 “The darkness of old age comes like the mist  
 “of the desert.” The face of a ghost is “pale  
 “as the mist of Cromla.” The gloom of bat-  
 “tle

\* There is a remarkable propriety in this comparison. It is intended to explain the effect of soft and mournful musick. Armin appears disturbed at a performance of this kind. Carmor says to him, “Why bursts  
 “the sigh of Armin? Is there a cause to mourn? The  
 “song comes with its musick to melt and please the ear.  
 “It is like soft mist, &c.” that is, such mournful songs have a happy effect to soften the heart, and to improve it by tender emotions, as the moisture of the mist refreshes and nourishes the flowers; whilst the sadness they occasion is only transient, and soon dispelled by the succeeding occupations and amusements of life. “The  
 “sun returns in its strength, and the mist is gone.”

“ the is rolled along as mist that is poured on the  
 “ valley, when storms invade the silent sun-shine  
 “ of heaven.” Fame suddenly departing, is  
 likened to “ mist that flies away before the rust-  
 “ ling wind of the vale.” A ghost, slowly va-  
 nishing, to “ mist that melts by degrees on the  
 “ sunny hill.” Cairbar, after his treacherous  
 assassination of Oscar, is compared to a pestilential  
 fog. “ I love a foe like Cathmor,” says Fingal,  
 “ his soul is great; his arm is strong; his battles  
 “ are full of fame. But the little soul is like a  
 “ vapour that hovers round the marshy lake. It  
 “ never rises on the green hill, lest the winds meet  
 “ it there. Its dwelling is in the cave; and it  
 “ sends forth the dart of death.” This is a  
 simile highly finished. But there is another which  
 is still more striking, founded also on mist, in the  
 4th book of Temora. Two factious chiefs are  
 contending; Cathmor the king interposes, rebukes  
 and silences them. The poet intends to give us  
 the highest idea of Cathmor’s superiority; and  
 most effectually accomplishes his intention by the  
 following happy image. “ They sunk from the  
 “ king on either side; like two columns of morn-  
 “ ing mist, when the sun rises between them, on  
 “ his glittering rocks. Dark is their rolling on  
 “ either side; each towards its reedy pool.”  
 These instances may sufficiently shew with what  
 richness of imagination Ossian’s comparisons abound,  
 and at the same time, with what propriety of  
 judgment they are employed. If his field was  
 narrow, it must be admitted to have been as well  
 cultivated as its extent would allow.

As it is usual to judge of poets from a compari-  
 son of their similes more than of other passages, it  
 will perhaps be agreeable to the reader to see how  
 Homer and Ossian have conducted some images of  
 the

the same kind. This might be shewn in many instances. For as the great objects of nature are common to the poets of all nations, and make the general store-house of all imagery, the groundwork of their comparisons must of course be frequently the same. I shall select only a few the most considerable from both poets. Mr. Pope's translation of Homer can be of no use to us here. The parallel is altogether unfair between prose, and the imposing harmony of flowing numbers. It is only by viewing Homer in the simplicity of a prose translation, that we can form any comparison between the two bards.

The shock of two encountering armies, the noise and the tumult of battle, afford one of the most grand and awful subjects of description; on which all epic poets have exerted their strength. Let us first hear Homer. The following description is a favourite one, for we find it twice repeated in the same words\*. “When now the conflicting  
 “hosts joined in the field of battle, then were  
 “mutually opposed shields and swords, and  
 “the strength of armed men. The bossy bucklers  
 “were dashed against each other. The universal  
 “tumult rose. There were mingled the triumphant  
 “shouts and the dying groans of the victors  
 “and the vanquished. The earth streamed  
 “with blood. As when winter torrents, rushing  
 “from the mountains, pour into a narrow valley,  
 “their violent waters. They issue from a thousand  
 “springs, and mix in the hollowed channel.  
 “The distant shepherd hears on the mountain,  
 “their roar from afar. Such was the terror and the  
 “shout of the engaging armies.” In another passage, the poet, much in the manner of Ossian,

\* Iliad iv. 446. and Il. viii. 60.

heaps simile on simile, to express the vastness of the idea, with which his imagination seems to labour. "With a mighty shout the hosts engage. Not so loud roars the wave of ocean, when driven against the shore by the whole force of the boisterous north; not so loud in the woods of the mountain, the noise of the flame, when rising in its fury to consume the forest; not so loud the wind among the lofty oaks, when the wrath of the storm rages; as was the clamour of the Greeks and Trojans, when roaring terrible, they rushed against each other\*."

To these descriptions and similes, we may oppose the following from Ossian, and leave the reader to judge between them. He will find images of the same kind employed; commonly less extended; but thrown forth with a glowing rapidity which characterises our poet. "As autumn's dark storms pour from two echoing hills, towards each other, approached the heroes. As two dark streams from high rocks meet, and mix, and roar on the plain; loud, rough, and dark in battle, meet Lochlin and Inisfail. Chief mixed his strokes with chief, and man, with man. Steel clanging, sounded on steel. Helmets are cleft on high; blood bursts and smoaks around.----- As the troubled noise of the ocean, when roll the waves on high; as the last peal of the thunder of heaven, such is the noise of battle.----- As roll a thousand waves to the rock, so Swaran's host came on; as meets a rock a thousand waves, so Inisfail met Swaran. Death raises all his voices around, and mixes with the sound of shields.--The field echoes from wing to wing, as a hundred hammers that rise by turns on the red son of the furnace\*.-----As a hundred  
" winds

\* Iliad xiv. 393.

“ winds on Morven; as the streams of a hundred  
 “ hills; as clouds fly successive over heaven; or  
 “ as the dark ocean assaults the shore of the desert;  
 “ so roaring, so vast, so terrible, the armies mix-  
 “ ed on Lena’s echoing heath.” In several of  
 these images, there is a remarkable similarity to  
 Homer’s; but what follows is superior to any com-  
 parison that Homer uses on this subject. “ The  
 “ groan of the people spread over the hills; it  
 “ was like the thunder of night, when the cloud  
 “ bursts on Cona; and a thousand ghosts shriek at  
 “ once on the hollow wind.” Never was an  
 image of more awful sublimity employed to  
 heighten the terror of battle.

Both poets compare the appearance of an army  
 approaching, to the gathering of dark clouds.  
 “ As when a shepherd,” says Homer, “ beholds  
 “ from the rock a cloud borne along the sea by the  
 “ western wind; black as pitch it appears from  
 “ afar, sailing over the ocean, and carrying the  
 “ dreadful storm. He shrinks at the sight, and  
 “ drives his flock into the cave: Such, under the  
 “ Ajaces, moved on, the dark, the thickened  
 “ phalanx to the war\*.”---“ They came,” says  
 Ossian, “ over the desert like stormy clouds, when  
 “ the winds roll them over the heath; their edges  
 “ are tinged with lightening; and the echoing  
 “ groves foresee the storm.” The edges of the  
 cloud tinged with lightning, is a sublime idea; but  
 the shepherd and his flock, render Homer’s simile  
 more picturesque. This is frequently the differ-  
 ence between the two poets. Ossian gives no  
 more than the main image, strong and full. Ho-  
 mer adds circumstances and appendages, which  
 amuse the fancy by enlivening the scenery.

\* Iliad iv. 275.

Homer compares the regular appearance of an army, to "clouds that are settled on the mountain top, in the day of calmness, when the strength of the north wind sleeps.\*" Ossian, with full as much propriety, compares the appearance of a disordered army, to "the mountain cloud, when the blast hath entered its womb; and scatters the curling gloom on every side." Ossian's clouds assume a great many forms; and, as we might expect from his climate, are a fertile source of imagery to him. "The warriors followed their chiefs, like the gathering of the rainy clouds, behind the red meteors of heaven." An army retreating without coming to action, is likened to "clouds, that having long threatened rain, retire slowly behind the hills." The picture of Oithona, after she had determined to die, is lively and delicate. "Her soul was resolved, and the tear was dried from her wildly-looking eye. A troubled joy rose on her mind, like the red path of the lightning on a stormy cloud." The image also of the gloomy Cairbar, meditating, in silence, the assassination of Oscar, until the moment came when his designs were ripe for execution, is extremely noble, and compleat in all its parts. "Cairbar heard their words in silence, like the cloud of a shower; it stands dark on Cromla, till the lightning bursts its side. The valley gleams with red light; the spirits of the storm rejoice. So stood the silent king of Temora; at length his words are heard."

Homer's comparison of Achilles to the Dog-Star, is very sublime. "Priam beheld him rushing along the plain, shining in his armour, like  
" the

\* Iliad, v. 522.



“ the star of autumn; bright are its beams, dis-  
 “ tinguished amidst the multitude of stars in the  
 “ dark hour of night. It rises in its splendor;  
 “ but its splendor is fatal; betokening to miserable  
 “ men, the destroying heat.\*” The first ap-  
 appearance of Fingal, is, in like manner, compared  
 by Ossian, to a star or meteor. “ Fingal, tall in  
 “ his ship, stretched his bright lance before him.  
 “ Terrible was the gleam of his steel; it was like  
 “ the green meteor of death, setting in the heath  
 “ of Malmor, when the traveller is alone, and the  
 “ broad moon is darkened in heaven.” The  
 hero’s appearance in Homer, is more magnificent;  
 in Ossian, more terrible.

A tree cut down, or overthrown by a storm, is  
 a similitude frequent among poets for describing  
 the fall of a warrior in battle. Homer employs it  
 often. But the most beautiful, by far, of his  
 comparisons, founded on this object, indeed one  
 of the most beautiful in the whole Iliad, is that  
 on the death of Euphorbus. “ As the young  
 “ and verdant olive, which a man hath reared  
 “ with care in a lonely field, where the springs of  
 “ water bubble around it; it is fair and flourishing;  
 “ it is fanned by the breath of all the winds, and  
 “ loaded with white blossoms; when the sudden  
 “ blast of a whirlwind descending, roots it out  
 “ from its bed, and stretches it on the dust†.”  
 To this, elegant as it is, we may oppose the fol-  
 lowing simile of Ossian’s, relating to the death of  
 the three sons of Usnoth. “ They fell, like  
 “ three young oaks which stood alone on the hill.  
 “ The traveller saw the lovely trees, and won-  
 “ dered how they grew so lonely. The blast of the  
 “ desert came by night, and laid their green heads  
 “ low.

\* Iliad, xxii. 26.

† Iliad, xvii. 53.



low. Next day he returned; but they were  
 “withered, and the heath was bare.” Malvina’s  
 allusion to the same object, in her lamentation over  
 Oscar, is so exquisitely tender, that I cannot forbear  
 giving it a place also. “I was a lovely tree in thy  
 “presence, Oscar! with all my branches round  
 “me. But thy death came, like a blast from the  
 “desart, and laid my green head low. The spring  
 “returned with its showers, but no leaf of mine  
 “arose.” Several of Ossian’s similes taken from  
 trees, are remarkably beautiful and diversified  
 with well chosen circumstances; such as that upon  
 the death of Ryno and Orla: They have fallen  
 “like the oak of the desart; when it lies across a  
 “stream, and withers in the wind of the moun-  
 “tains:” Or that which Ossian applies to him-  
 self; “I, like an ancient oak in Merven, moul-  
 “der alone in my place; the blast hath lopped  
 “my branches away; and I tremble at the wings  
 “of the north.”

As Homer exalts his heroes by comparing them  
 to gods, Ossian makes the same use of comparisons  
 taken from spirits and ghosts. Swaran “roared  
 “in battle, like the shrill spirit of a storm that sits  
 “dim on the clouds of Gormal, and enjoys the  
 “death of the mariner.” His people gathered  
 around Erragon, “like storms around the ghost  
 “of night, when he calls them from the top of  
 “Morven, and prepares to pour them on the land  
 “of the stranger.”-----“They fell before my  
 “son, like groves in the desart, when an angry  
 “ghost rushes through night, and takes their  
 “green heads in his hand.” In such images,  
 Ossian appears in his strength; for very seldom  
 have supernatural beings been painted with so much  
 sublimity, and such force of imagination, as by  
 this poet. Even Homer, great as he is, must

yield to him in similes formed upon these. Take, for instance, the following, which is the most remarkable of this kind in the Iliad. “Meriones followed Idomeneus to battle, like Mars the destroyer of men, when he rushes to war. Terror, his beloved son, strong and fierce, attends him who fills with dismay, the most valiant hero. They come from Thrace, armed against the Ephyrians and Phlegyans; nor do they regard the prayers of either; but dispose of success at their will\*.” The idea here, is undoubtedly noble: but observe what a figure Ossian sets before the astonished imagination, and with what sublimely terrible circumstances he has heightened it. “He rushed in the sound of his arms, like the dreadful spirit of Loda, when he comes in the roar of a thousand storms, and scatters battles from his eyes. He sits on a cloud over Lochlin’s seas. His mighty hand is on his sword. The winds lift his flaming locks. So terrible was Cuchullin in the day of his fame.”

Homer’s comparisons relate chiefly to martial subjects, to the appearances and motions of armies, the engagement and death of heroes, and the various incidents of war. In Ossian, we find a greater variety of other subjects illustrated by similes; particularly, the songs of bards, the beauty of women, the different circumstances of old age, sorrow, and private distress; which give occasion to much beautiful imagery. What, for instance, can be more delicate and moving, than the following simile of Oithon’as, in her lamentation over the dishonour she had suffered? “Chief of Strumon, replied the sighing maid, why didst thou come over the dark blue wave to Nuath’s  
“mourn-

\* Iliad, xiii. 298.

“mournful daughter? Why did not I pass away in  
 “secret, like the flower of the rock, that lifts its fair  
 “head unseen, and strews its withered leaves on  
 “the blast?” The musick of bards, a favourite  
 object with Ossian, is illustrated by a variety of  
 the most beautiful appearances that are to be found  
 in nature. It is compared to the calm shower of  
 spring; to the dews of the morning on the hill of  
 roes; to the face of the blue and still lake. Two  
 similes on this subject, I shall quote, because they  
 would do honour to any of the most celebrated  
 classics. The one is, “Sit thou on the heath, O  
 “bard! and let us hear thy voice; it is pleasant  
 “as the gale of the spring that sighs on the hun-  
 “ter’s ear, when he awakens from dreams of joy,  
 “and has heard the music of the spirits of the hill.”  
 The other contains a short, but exquisitely tender  
 image, accompanied with the finest poetical paint-  
 ing. “The music of Carril was like the memory  
 “of joys that are past, pleasant and mournful to the  
 “soul. The ghosts of departed bards heard it from  
 “Slimora’s side. Soft sounds spread along the  
 “wood; and the silent valleys of night rejoice.”  
 What a figure would such imagery and such scenery  
 have made, had they been presented to us, adorned  
 with the sweetness and harmony of the Virgilian  
 numbers!

I have chosen all along to compare Ossian with  
 Homer, rather than Virgil, for an obvious reason.  
 There is a much nearer correspondence between the  
 times and manners of the two former poets. Both  
 wrote in an early period of society; both are ori-  
 ginals; both are distinguished by simplicity, sub-  
 limity and fire. The correct elegance of Virgil,  
 his artful imitation of Homer, the Roman state-  
 liness which he every where maintains, admit no  
 parallel with the abrupt boldness and enthusiastick

warmth of the Celtic bard. In one article, indeed, there is a resemblance. Virgil is more tender than Homer; and thereby agrees more with Ossian; with this difference, that the feelings of the one are more gentle and polished, those of the other more strong; the tenderness of Virgil softens, that of Ossian dissolves and overcomes the heart.

A resemblance may be sometimes observed between Ossian's comparisons, and those employed by the sacred writers. They abound much in this figure, and they use it with the utmost propriety\*. The imagery of Scripture exhibits a soil and climate altogether different from those of Ossian; a warmer country, a more smiling face of nature, the arts of agriculture and of rural life much farther advanced. The wine press, and the threshing floor, are often presented to us, the Cedar and the Palm-tree, the fragrance of perfumes, the voice of the Turtle, and the beds of Lilies. The similes are, like Ossian's, generally short, touching on one point of resemblance, rather than spread out into little episodes. In the following example may be perceived what inexpressible grandeur poetry receives from the intervention of the Deity.

“ The nations shall rush like the rushings of many  
 “ waters; but God shall rebuke them, and they  
 “ shall fly far off, and shall be chased as the chaff  
 “ of the mountains before the wind, and like  
 “ the down of the thistle before the whirlwind†.”

Besides formal comparisons, the poetry of Ossian is embellished with many beautiful metaphors: Such as that remarkably fine one applied to Deugala: “ She was covered with the light of beauty  
 “ but her heart was the house of pride.” This mode of expression, which suppresses the mark o

\* See Dr. Lowth de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum.

† Isaiah xvii. 13.

comparison, and substitutes a figured description in room of the object described, is a great enlivener of style. It denotes that glow and rapidity of fancy, which without pausing to form a regular simile, paints the object at one stroke. "Thou art to me the beam of the east, rising in a land unknown"---"In peace, thou art the gale of spring; in war, the mountain storm."-----"Pleasant be thy rest, O lovely beam, soon hast thou set on our hills! The steps of thy departure were stately, like the moon on the blue trembling wave. But thou hast left us in darkness, first of the maids of Lutha!----Soon hast thou set Malvina! but thou risest, like the beam of the east, among the spirits of thy friends, where they sit in their stormy halls, the chambers of the thunder." This is correct and finely supported. But in the following instance, the metaphor, though very beautiful at the beginning, becomes imperfect before it closes, by being improperly mixed with the literal sense. "Trathal went forth with the stream of his people; but they met a rock; Fingal stood unmoved; broken they rolled back from his side. Nor did they roll in safety; the spear of the king pursued their flight."

The hyperbole is a figure which we might expect to find often employed by Ossian; as the undisciplined imagination of early ages generally prompts exaggeration, and carries its objects to excess; whereas longer experience, and farther progress in the arts of life, chasten mens ideas and expressions. Yet Ossian's hyperboles appear not to me, either so frequent or so harsh as might at first have been looked for; an advantage owing no doubt to the more cultivated state, in which, as was before shewn, poetry subsisted among the

ancient Celtæ, than among most other barbarous nations. One of the most exaggerated descriptions in the whole work, is what meets us at the beginning of Fingal, where the scout makes his report to Cuchullin of the landing of the foe. But this is so far from deserving censure that it merits praise, as being, on that occasion, natural and proper. The scout arrives, trembling and full of fears; and it is well known, that no passion disposes men to hyperbolize more than terror. It both annihilates themselves in their own apprehension, and magnifies every object which they view through the medium of a troubled imagination. Hence all those indistinct images of formidable greatness, the natural marks of a disturbed and confused mind, which occur in Moran's description of Swaran's appearance, and in his relation of the conference which they held together; not unlike the report, which the affrighted Jewish spies made to their leader of the land of Canaan. "The land through  
 " which we have gone to search it, is a land that  
 " eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the  
 " people that we saw in it, are men of a great stature: and there saw we giants, the sons of Anak,  
 " which come of the giants; and we were in our  
 " own sight as grasshoppers, and so were we in  
 " their sight\*."

With regard to personifications, I formerly observed that Ossian was sparing, and I accounted for his being so. Allegorical personages he has none; and their absence is not to be regretted. For the intermixture of those shadowy Beings, which have not the support even of mythological or legendary belief, with human actors, seldom produces a good effect. The fiction becomes too visible and phantastick; and overthrows that impression of reality, which the probable recital of human actions is calculated

\* Numbers xiii. 32. 33.

culated to make upon the mind. In the serious and pathetic scenes of Ossian especially, allegorical characters would have been as much out of place, as in Tragedy; serving only unseasonably to amuse the fancy, whilst they stopped the current, and weakened the force of passion.

With apostrophes, or addresses to persons absent or dead, which have been, in all ages, the language of passion, our poet abounds; and they are among his highest beauties. Witness the apostrophe, in the first book of Fingal, to the maid of Inistore, whose lover had fallen in battle; and that inimitably fine one of Cuchullin to Bragela at the conclusion of the same book. He commands the harp to be struck in her praise; and the mention of Bragela's name, immediately suggesting to him a crowd of tender ideas; "Dost thou raise thy fair face from the rocks," he exclaims "to find the sails of Cuchullin? The sea is rolling far distant, and its white foam shall deceive thee for my sails." And now his imagination being wrought up to conceive her as, at that moment, really in this situation, he becomes afraid of the harm she may receive from the inclemency of the night; and with an enthusiasm, happy and affecting, though beyond the cautious strain of modern poetry, "Retire," he proceeds, "retire, for it is night, my love, and the dark winds sigh in thy hair. Retire to the hall of my feasts, and think of the times that are past; for I will not return till the storm of war has ceased. O Connal, speak of wars and arms, and send her from my mind; for lovely with her raven hair is the white-bosomed daughter of Sorglan." This breathes all the native spirit of passion and tenderness.

The addresses to the sun, to the moon, and to the evening star, must draw the attention of

every reader of taste, as among the most splendid ornaments of this collection. The beauties of each are too great, and too obvious to need any particular comment. In one passage only of the address to the moon, there appears some obscurity. “ Whither dost thou retire from thy  
 “ course, when the darkness of thy countenance  
 “ grows? Hast thou thy hall like Ossian? Dwellest  
 “ thou in the shadow of grief? Have thy sisters fal-  
 “ len from heaven? Are they who rejoiced with  
 “ thee at night, no more? Yes, they have fallen,  
 “ fair light! and thou dost often retire to mourn.” We may be at a loss to comprehend, at first view, the ground of these speculations of Ossian, concerning the moon; but when all the circumstances are attended to, they will appear to flow naturally from the present situation of his mind. A mind under the dominion of any strong passion, tinctures with its own disposition, every object which it beholds. The old bard, with his heart bleeding for the loss of all his friends, is meditating on the different phases of the moon. Her waning and darkness, presents to his melancholy imagination, the image of sorrow; and presently the idea arises, and is indulged, that, like himself, she retires to mourn over the loss of other moons, or of stars, whom he calls her sisters, and fancies to have once rejoiced with her at night, now fallen from heaven. Darkness suggested the idea of mourning, and mourning suggested nothing so naturally to Ossian, as the death of beloved friends. An instance precisely similar of this influence of passion, may be seen in a passage which has always been admired of Shakespear’s *King Lear*. The old man on the point of distraction, through the inhumanity of his daughters, sees Edgar appear disguised like a beggar and a madman.



*Lear.* Didst thou give all to thy daughters? And art thou come to this?

Couldst thou leave nothing? Didst thou give them all?

*Kent.* He hath no daughters, Sir.

*Lear.* Death, traitor! nothing could have subdued nature,

To such a lowness, but his unkind daughters.

King Lear, Act 3. Scene 5.

The apostrophe to the winds, in the opening of *Darthula*, is in the highest spirit of poetry. "But the winds deceive thee, O *Darthula*: and deny the woody *Etha* to thy sails. These are not thy mountains, *Nathos*, nor is that the roar of thy climbing waves. The halls of *Cairbar* are near, and the towers of the foe lift their head---- Where have ye been, ye southern winds; when the sons of my love were deceived? But ye have been sporting on plains, and pursuing the thistle's beard. O that ye had been rustling in the sails of *Nathos*, till the hills of *Ætha* rose! till they rose in their clouds, and saw their coming chief." This passage is remarkable for the resemblance it bears to an expostulation with the wood nymphs, on their absence at a critical time; which, as a favourite poetical idea, *Virgil* has copied from *Theocritus*, and *Milton* has very happily imitated from both.

Where were ye, nymphs! when the remorseless  
deep

Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd *Lycidas*?

For neither were ye playing on the steep

Where your old bards, the famous *Druids*, lye;

Nor on the shaggy top of Mona, high,  
Nor yet where Deva spreads her wizard stream\*

Having now treated fully of Ossian's talents, with respect to description and imagery, it only remains to make some observations on his sentiments. No sentiments can be beautiful without being proper; that is, suited to the character and situation of those who utter them. In this respect, Ossian is as correct as most writers. His characters, as above observed, are in general well supported; which could not have been the case, had the sentiments been unnatural or out of place. A variety of personages of different ages, sexes, and conditions are introduced into his poems; and they speak and act with a propriety of sentiment and behaviour, which it is surprizing to find in so rude an age. Let the poem of Darthula, throughout, be taken as an example.

But it is not enough that sentiments be natural and proper. In order to acquire any high degree of poetical merit, they must also be sublime and pathetick.

The sublime is not confined to sentiment alone. It belongs to description also; and whether in description or in sentiment, imports such ideas presented to the mind, as raise it to an uncommon degree of elevation, and fill it with admiration and astonishment. This is the highest effect either of eloquence or poetry: and to produce this effect, requires a genius glowing with the strongest and warmest conception of some object awful, great or magnificent. That this character of genius belongs to Ossian, may, I think, sufficiently appear from

\* Milton's Lycidas. See Theocrit. Idyll. I.

Πᾶ ποκ' ἀρ' ἠσθ' ὄκα Δαονίετα κέτο; πᾶ ποκα, Νυμφαί, &c.  
And Virg. Eclog. 10.

Quæ nemora, aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellæ, &c.

from many of the passages I have already had occasion to quote. To produce more Instances, were superfluous. If the engagement of Fingal with the spirit of Loda, in Carric-thura; if the encounters of the armies in Fingal; if the address to the sun, in Carthon; if the similes founded upon ghosts and spirits of the night, all formerly mentioned, be not admitted as examples, and illustrious ones too, of the true poetical sublime, I confess myself entirely ignorant of this quality in writing.

All the circumstances, indeed, of Ossian's composition, are favourable to the sublime, more perhaps than to any other species of beauty. Accuracy and correctness; artfully connected narration; exact method and proportion of parts, we may look for in polished times. The gay and the beautiful, will appear to more advantage in the midst of smiling scenery and pleasurable themes. But amidst the rude scene of nature, amidst rocks and torrents and whirlwinds and battles, dwells the sublime. It is the thunder and the lightning of genius. It is the offspring of nature not of art. It is negligent of all the lesser graces, and perfectly consistent with a certain noble disorder. It associates naturally with that grave and solemn spirit, which distinguishes our author. For the sublime, is an awful and serious emotion; and is heightened by all the images of Trouble, and Terror, and Darkness.

*Ipse pater, media nimborum in nocte, corusca  
Fulmina molitur dextra; quo maxima motu  
Terra tremit; fugere feræ; et mortalia corda  
Per gentes, humilis stravit pavor; ille, flagranti  
Aut Atho, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Ceraunia telo  
Dejicit.-----*

VIRG. Georg. I.

Simplicity and conciseness, are never-failing cha-

characteristics of the style of a sublime writer. He rests on the majesty of his sentiments, not on the pomp of his expressions. The main secret of being sublime, is to say great things in few, and in plain words: For every superfluous decoration degrades a sublime idea. The mind rises and swells, when a lofty description or sentiment is presented to it in its native form. But no sooner does the poet attempt to spread out this sentiment or description, and to deck it round and round with glittering ornaments, than the mind begins to fall from its high elevation; the transport is over; the beautiful may remain, but the sublime is gone. Hence the concise and simple style of Ossian, gives great advantage to his sublime conceptions; and assists them in seizing the imagination with full power.\*

Sublimity as belonging to sentiment, coincides in a great measure with magnanimity, heroism, and

\* The noted saying of Julius Cæsar, to the pilot in a storm " Quid times? Cæsarem vehis; is magnanimous and sublime. Lucan, not satisfied with this simple conciseness, resolv'd to amplify and improve the thought. Observe, how every time he twists it round, it departs farther from the sublime, till, at last, it ends in tumid declamation.

Sperne minas, inquit, Pelagi, ventoque furenti  
 Trade sinum. Italiam, si cælo auctore, recusas,  
 Me, pute. Sola tibi causa hæc est justa timoris  
 Vectorem non nosse tuum; quem numina nunquam  
 Destituunt; de quo male tunc fortuna meretur,  
 Cum post vota venit; medias per rumpe procellas  
 Tutelâ secne meâ. Coeli iste fretique,  
 Non puppis nostræ, labor est. Hanc Cæsare pressam  
 A fluctu defendit onus.

——— Quid tantâ strage paratur,  
 Ignoras? Quærit pelagi cælique tumultu  
 Quid præstet fortuna mihi.

and generosity of sentiment. Whatever discovers human nature in its greatest elevation; whatever bespeaks a high effort of soul; or shews a mind superior to pleasures, to dangers, and to death, forms what may be called the moral or sentimental sublime. For this, Ossian is eminently distinguished. No poet maintains a higher tone of virtuous and noble sentiment, throughout all his works. Particularly in all the sentiments of Fingal, there is a grandeur and loftiness proper to swell the mind with the highest ideas of human perfection. Wherever he appears, we behold the hero. The objects which he pursues, are always truly great; to bend the proud; to protect the injured; to defend his friends; to overcome his enemies by generosity more than by force. A portion of the same spirit actuates all the other heroes. Valour reigns; but it is a generous valour, void of cruelty, animated by honour, not by hatred. We behold no debasing passions among Fingal's warriors; no spirit of avarice or of insult; but a perpetual contention for fame; a desire of being distinguished and remembered for gallant actions; a love of justice; and a zealous attachment to their friends and their country. Such is the strain of sentiment in the works of Ossian.

But the sublimity of moral sentiments, if they wanted the softening of the tender, would be in hazard of giving a hard and stiff air to poetry. It is not enough to admire. Admiration is a cold feeling in comparison of that deep interest, which the heart takes in tender and pathetick scenes; where, by a mysterious attachment to the objects of compassion, we are pleased and delighted, even whilst we mourn. With scenes of this kind, Ossian abounds; and his high merit in these, is incontestable. He may be blamed for drawing tears too often

often from our eyes; but that he has the power of commanding them, I believe no man, who has the least sensibility, will question. The general character of his poetry, is the heroic mixed with the elegiac strain; admiration tempered with pity. Ever fond of giving, as he expresses it, “the joy of grief,” it is visible, that on all moving subjects, he delights to exert his genius; and accordingly, never were there finer pathetick situations, than what his works present. His great art in managing them lies in giving vent to the simple and natural emotions of the heart. We meet with no exaggerated declamation; no subtle refinements on sorrow; no substitution of description in place of passion. Ossian felt strongly himself; and the heart when uttering its native language never fails, by powerful sympathy to affect the heart. A great variety of examples might be produced. We need only open the book to find them every where. What, for instance, can be more moving, than the lamentations of Oithona, after her misfortune? Gaul, the son of Morni, her lover, ignorant of what she had suffered, comes to her rescue. Their meeting is tender in the highest degree. He proposes to engage her foe, in single combat, and gives her in charge what she is to do, if he himself shall fall.

“And shall the daughter of Nuãth live, she replied  
 “with a bursting sigh? Shall I live in Tromathon  
 “and the son of Morni low? My heart is not of  
 “that rock; nor my soul careless-as that sea, which  
 “lifts its blue waves to every wind, and rolls be-  
 “neath the storm. The blast, which shall lay thee  
 “low, shall spread the branches of Oithona on  
 “earth. We shall wither together, son of car-  
 “borne Morni! The narrow house is pleasant to  
 “me; and the grey stone of the dead; for never  
 “more

“ more will I leave thy rocks, sea-surrounded  
 “ Tromathon!----Chief of Strumon, why cam-  
 “ est thou over the waves to Nuäth’s mournful  
 “ daughter? Why did not I pass away in secret,  
 “ like the flower of the rock, that lifts its fair  
 “ head unseen, and strews its withered leaves on  
 “ the blast? Why didst thou come, O Gaul! to  
 “ hear my departing sigh?-----O had I dwelt at  
 “ Duvranna, in the bright beams of my fame!  
 “ Then had my years come on with joy; and the  
 “ virgins would bless my steps. But I fall in youth,  
 “ son of Morni, and my father shall blush in his  
 “ hall.”

Oithona mourns like a woman; in Cuchullin’s  
 expressions of grief after his defeat, we behold the  
 sentiments of a hero, generous but desponding.  
 The situation is remarkably fine. Cuchullin, rous-  
 ed from his cave, by the noise of battle, sees Fingal  
 victorious in the field. He is described as kindling  
 at the sight. “ His hand is on the sword of his  
 “ fathers; his red-rolling eyes on the foe. He  
 “ thrice attempted to rush to battle; and thrice  
 “ did Connal stop him;” suggesting, that Fin-  
 gal was routing the foe; and that he ought not,  
 by the show of superfluous aid, to deprive the  
 king of any part of the honour of a victory,  
 which was owing to him alone. Cuchullin yields  
 to this generous sentiment; but we see it stinging  
 him to the heart with the sense of his own dis-  
 grace. “ Then, Carril, go, replied the chief,  
 “ and greet the king of Morven. When Lochlin  
 “ falls away like a stream after rain, and the noise  
 “ of the battle is over, then be thy voice sweet in  
 “ his ear, to praise the king of swords. Give him  
 “ the sword of Caithbat; for Cuchullin is worthy  
 “ no more to lift the arms of his fathers. But,  
 “ O ye ghosts of the lonely Cromla! Ye souls of  
 “ chiefs

“ chiefs that are no more ! Be ye the companions  
 “ of Cuchullin, and talk to him in the cave of his  
 “ sorrow. For never more shall I be renowned  
 “ among the mighty in the land. I am like a  
 “ beam that has shone : Like a mist that has fled  
 “ away ; when the blast of the morning came,  
 “ and brightened the shaggy side of the hill.  
 “ Connal ! talk of arms no more : Departed is  
 “ my fame. My sighs shall be on Cromla’s wind ;  
 “ till my footsteps cease to be seen. And thou,  
 “ white-bosomed Bragela ! mourn over the fall of  
 “ my fame ; for vanquished, I will never return  
 “ to thee, thou sun-beam of Dunscach !”

-----Æstuat Ingens

Uno in corde pudor, luctusque, et conscia virtus.

Besides such extended pathetick scenes, Ossian  
 frequently pierces the heart by a single unexpected  
 stroke. When Oscar fell in battle, “ No father  
 “ mourned his son slain in youth ; no brother, his  
 “ brother of love ; they fell without tears, for the  
 “ chief of the people was low.” In the admir-  
 able interview of Hector with Andromache, in  
 the sixth Iliad, the circumstance of the child in his  
 nurse’s arms, has often been remarked, as adding  
 much to the tenderness of the scene. In the follow-  
 ing passage relating to the death of Cuchullin, we  
 find a circumstance that must strike the imagination  
 with still greater force. “ And is the son of Semo  
 “ fallen ? said Carril with a sigh. Mournful are  
 “ Tura’s walls, and sorrow dwells at Dunscach.  
 “ Thy spouse is left alone in her youth ; the son  
 “ of thy love is alone. He shall come to Bragela,  
 “ and ask her why she weeps. He shall lift his eyes  
 “ to the wall, and see his father’s sword. Whose  
 “ sword is that ? he will say ; and the soul of his  
 “ mother is sad.” Soon after Fingal had shewn

all



all the grief of a father's heart for Ryno, one of his sons, fallen in battle, he is calling after his accustomed manner, his sons to the chase. "Call," says he, "Fillan and Ryno----But he is not here---  
 "My son rests on the bed of death."-----This unexpected start of anguish, is worthy of the highest tragic poet,

If she come in, she'll sure speak to my wife---  
 My wife!---my wife---What wife!---I have no  
 wife---

Oh insupportable! Oh heavy hour!

*Othello*, Act 5. Scene 7.

The contrivance of the incident in both poets is similar; but the circumstances are varied with judgment. Othello dwells upon the name of wife, when it had fallen from him, with the confusion and horror of one tortured with guilt. Fingal, with the dignity of a hero, corrects himself, and suppresses his rising grief.

The contrast which Ossian frequently makes between his present and his former state, diffuses over his whole poetry, a solemn pathetick air, which cannot fail to make impression on every heart. The conclusion of the songs of Selmo, is particularly calculated for this purpose. Nothing can be more poetical and tender, or can leave upon the mind, a stronger, and more affecting idea of the venerable aged bard. "Such were the words of the  
 "bards in the days of the song; when the king  
 "heard the music of harps, and the tales of other  
 "times. The chiefs gathered from all their hills,  
 "and heard the lovely sound. They praised the  
 "voice of Cona\*; the first among a thousand bards,  
 "But age is now on my tongue, and my soul has  
 "failed. I hear, sometimes, the ghosts of bards  
 "and learn their pleasant song. But memory fails  
 "on

\* Ossian himself is poetically called the voice of Cona.

“ on my mind ; I hear the call of years. They  
 “ say, as they pass along ; Why does Ossian sing ?  
 “ Soon shall he lie in the narrow house, and no  
 “ bard shall raise his fame. Roll on, ye dark-brown  
 “ years ! for ye bring no joy in your course. Let  
 “ the tomb open to Ossian, for his strength has  
 “ failed. The sons of the song are gone to rest.  
 “ My voice remains, like a blast, that roars lonely  
 “ on a sea-surrounded rock, after the winds are  
 “ laid. The dark moss whistles there, and the  
 “ distant mariner sees the waving trees.”

Upon the whole ; if to feel strongly, and to describe naturally, be the two chief ingredients in poetical genius, Ossian must, after fair examination, be held to possess that genius in a high degree. The question is not, whether a few improprieties may be pointed out in his works ; whether this, or that passage, might not have been worked up with more art and skill, by some writer of happier times ? A thousand such cold and frivolous criticisms, are altogether indecisive as to his genuine merit. But, has he the spirit, the fire, the inspiration of a poet ? Does he utter the voice of nature ? Does he elevate by his sentiments ? Does he interest by his descriptions ? Does he paint to the heart as well as to the fancy ? Does he make his readers glow, and tremble, and weep ? These are the great characteristics of true poetry. Where these are found, he must be a minute critic indeed, who can dwell upon slight defects. A few beauties of this high kind, transcend whole volumes of faultless mediocrity. Uncouth and abrupt, Ossian may sometimes appear by reason of his conciseness. But he is sublime, he is pathetick, in an eminent degree. If he has not the extensive knowledge, the regular dignity of narration, the fulness and accuracy of description, which we find in Homer and Virgil, yet in

strength

strength of imagination, in grandeur of sentiment, in native majesty of passion, he is fully their equal. If he flows not always like a clear stream, yet he breaks forth often like a torrent of fire. Of art too, he is far from being destitute; and his imagination is remarkable for delicacy as well as strength. Seldom or never is he either trifling or tedious; and if he be thought too melancholy, yet he is always moral. Though his merit were in other respects much less than it is, this alone ought to entitle him to high regard, that his writings are remarkably favourable to virtue. They awake the tenderest sympathies, and inspire the most generous emotions. No reader can rise from him, without being warmed with the sentiments of humanity, virtue and honour.

Though unacquainted with the original language, there is no one but must judge the translation to deserve the highest praise, on account of its beauty and elegance. Of its faithfulness and accuracy, I have been assured by persons skilled in the Galic tongue, who, from their youth, were acquainted with many of these poems of Ossian. To transfuse such spirited and fervid ideas from one language into another; to translate literally, and yet with such a glow of poetry; to keep alive so much passion, and support so much dignity throughout, is one of the most difficult works of genius, and proves the translator to have been animated with no small portion of Ossian's spirit.

The measured prose which he has employed, possesses considerable advantages above any sort of versification he could have chosen. Whilst it pleases and fills the ear with a variety of harmonious cadences, being, at the same time, freer from constraint in the choice and arrangement of words, it allows the spirit of the original to be exhibited  
with

with more justness, force and simplicity. Elegant however, and masterly as Mr. Macpherson's translation is, we must never forget, whilst we read it, that we are putting the merit of the original to a severe test. For, we are examining a poet stripped of his native dress: divested of the harmony of his own numbers. We know how much grace and energy the works of the Greek and Latin poets receive from the charm of versification in their original languages. If then, destitute of this advantage, exhibited in a literal version, Ossian still has power to please as a poet; and not to please only, but often to command, to transport, to melt the heart; we may very safely infer, that his productions are the offspring of true and uncommon genius; and we may boldly assign him a place among those, whose works are to last for ages.

## APPENDIX.



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## A P P E N D I X.

**T**HE substance of the preceding Dissertation was originally delivered, soon after the first publication of Fingal, in the course of my lectures in the university of Edinburgh; and, at the desire of several of the hearers, was afterwards enlarged and given to the publick.

As the degree of antiquity belonging to the poems of Ossian, appeared to be a point which might bear dispute, I endeavoured, from internal evidence, to show that these poems must be referred to a very remote period; without pretending to ascertain precisely the date of their composition. I had not the least suspicion, when this Dissertation was first published, that there was any occasion for supporting their authenticity, as genuine productions of the Highlands of Scotland, as translations from the Galic language; nor forgeries of a supposed translator. In Scotland, their authenticity was never called in question. I myself had particular reasons to be fully satisfied concerning it. My knowledge of Mr. Macpherson's personal honour and integrity, gave me full assurance of his being incapable of putting such a gross imposition, first, upon his friends, and then upon the public; and if this had not been sufficient, I knew, besides, that the manner in which these poems were brought to light, was intirely inconsistent with any fraud. An accidental conversation with a gentleman distinguished in the literary world, gave occasion to Mr. Macpherson's translating

lating literally one or two small pieces of the old Galic poetry. These being shewn to me and some others, rendered us very desirous of becoming more acquainted with that poetry. Mr. Macpherson, afraid of not doing justice to compositions which he admired in the original, was very backward to undertake the task of translating; and the publication of *The fragments of ancient poems*, was with no small importunity extorted from him. The high reputation which these presently acquired, made it, he thought, unjust that the world should be deprived of the possession of more, if more of the same kind could be recovered: And Mr. Macpherson was warmly urged by several gentlemen of rank and taste, to disengage himself from other occupations, and to undertake a journey through the Highlands and Islands, on purpose to make a collection of those curious remains of ancient genius. He complied with their desire, and spent several months in visiting those remote parts of the country; during which time he corresponded frequently with his friends in Edinburgh, informed them of his progress, of the applications which he made in different quarters, and of the success which he met with; several letters of his, and of those who assisted him in making discoveries passed through my hands; his undertaking was the object of considerable attention; and returning at last, fraught with the poetical treasures of the north, he set himself to translate under the eye of some who were acquainted with the Galic language, and looked into his manuscripts: and by a large publication made an appeal to all the natives of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, whether he had been faithful to his charge, and done justice to their well known and favourite poems.

- Such

Such a transaction certainly did not afford any favourable opportunity for carrying on an imposture. Yet in England, it seems, an opinion has prevailed with some, that an imposture has been carried on; that the poems which have been given to the world, are not translations of the works of any old Galic Bard, but modern compositions, formed, as it is said, upon a higher plan of poetry and sentiment than could belong to an age and a country reputed barbarous: And I have been called upon and urged to produce some evidence for satisfying the world, that they are not the compositions of Mr. Macpherson himself, under the borrowed name of Ossian.

If the question had been concerning manuscripts brought from some distant or unknown region, with which we had no intercourse; or concerning translations from an Asiatic or American language which scarce any body understood, suspicions might naturally have arisen, and an author's assertions have been anxiously and scrupulously weighed. But in the case of a literal translation, professed to be given of old traditionary poems of our own country: of poems asserted to be known in the original to many thousand inhabitants of Great Britain, and illustrated too by many of their current tales and stories concerning them, such extreme scepticism is altogether out of place. For who would have been either so hardy or so stupid, as to attempt a forgery which could not have failed of being immediately detected? Either the author must have had the influence to engage, as confederates in the fraud, all the natives of the Highlands and Islands, dispersed as they are throughout every corner of the British dominions; or, we should, long ere this time, have heard their united voice exclaiming, "These are not our poems, nor  
what

“ what we were ever accustomed to hear from our  
“ bards or our fathers.” Such remonstrances  
would, at least, have reached those who dwell in  
a part of the country which is adjacent to the  
Highlands: and must have come loud to the ears  
of such, especially, as were known to be the pro-  
moters of Mr. Macpherson’s undertaking. The  
silence of a whole country in this case, and of a  
country, whose inhabitants, are well known to be  
attached, in a remarkable degree, to all their own  
antiquities, is of as much weight as a thousand  
positive testimonies. And surely, no person of  
common understanding would have ventured,  
as Mr. Macpherson has done in his dissertation on  
Temora, to engage in a controversy with the whole  
Irish nation concerning these poems, and to insist  
upon the honour of them being due to Scotland,  
if they had been mere forgeries of his own; which  
the Scots, in place of supporting so ridiculous a  
claim, must have instantly rejected.

But as reasoning alone is apt not to make much  
impression, where suspicions have been entertained  
concerning a matter of fact, it was thought pro-  
per to have recourse to express testimonies. I  
have accordingly applied to several persons of cre-  
dit and honour, both gentlemen of fortune, and  
clergymen of the established church, who are na-  
tives of the Highlands or Islands of Scotland, and  
well acquainted with the language of the country,  
desiring to know their real opinion of the transla-  
tions published by Mr. Macpherson. Their ori-  
ginal letters to me, in return, are in my possession.  
I shall give a fair and faithful account of the result  
of their testimony: And I have full authority to  
use the names of those gentlemen for what I now  
advance.

I must



I must begin with affirming, that though among those with whom I have corresponded, some have had it in their power to be more particular and explicit in their testimony than others; there is not, however, one person, who insinuates the most remote suspicion that Mr. Macpherson has either forged, or adulterated any one of the Poems he has published. If they make any complaints of him, it is on account of his having omitted other poems which they think of equal merit with any which he has published. They all, without exception, concur in holding his translations to be genuine, and proceed upon their authenticity as a fact acknowledged throughout all those Northern Provinces; assuring me that any one would be exposed to ridicule among them, who should call it in question. I must observe that I had no motive to direct my choice of the persons to whom I applied for information preferably to others, except, their being pointed out to me, as the persons in their different counties who were most likely to give light on this head.

With regard to the manner in which the originals of these poems have been preserved and transmitted, which has been represented as so mysterious and inexplicable, I have received the following plain account: That until the present century, almost every great family in the Highlands had their own bard, to whose office it belonged to be master of all the poems and songs of the country; that among these poems the works of Ossian are easily distinguished from those of later bards by several peculiarities in his style and manner; that Ossian has been always reputed the Homer of the Highlands, and all his compositions held in singular  
F
esteem

esteem and veneration ; that the whole country is full of traditionary stories derived from his poems, concerning Fingal and his race of heroes, of whom there is not a child but has heard, and not a district in which there are not places pointed out famous for being the scene of some of their feats of arms ; that it was wont to be the great entertainment of the Highlanders, to pass the winter evenings in discoursing of the times of Fingal, and rehearsing these old poems, of which they have been all along enthusiastically fond ; that when assembled at their festivals, or on any of their publick occasions, wagers were often laid who could repeat most of them, and to have store of them in their memories, was both an honourable and a profitable acquisition, as it procured them access into the families of their great men ; that with regard to their antiquity, they are beyond all memory or tradition ; insomuch that there is a word commonly used in the Highlands to this day, when they would express any thing which is of the most remote or unknown antiquity, importing, that it belongs to the age of Fingal.

I am farther informed, that after the use of letters was introduced into that part of the country, the bards and others began early to commit several of these poems to writing ; that old manuscripts of them, many of which are now destroyed or lost, are known and attested to have been in the possession of some great families ; that the most valuable of those which remained, were collected by Mr. Macpherson during his journey through that country ; that though the poems of Ossian, so far as they were handed down by oral tradition, were no doubt liable to be interpolated, and to have their parts disjoined and put out of their natural order,  
yet

yet by comparing together the different oral editions of them (if we may use that phrase) in different corners of the country, and by comparing these also with the manuscripts which he obtained, Mr. Macpherson had it in his power to ascertain, in a great measure, the genuine original, to restore the parts to their proper order, and to give the whole to the public in that degree of correctness, in which it now appears.

I am also acquainted, that if enquiries had been made fifty or threescore years ago, many more particulars concerning these poems might have been learned, and many more living witnesses have been produced for attesting their authenticity; but that the manners of the inhabitants of the Highland counties have of late undergone a great change. Agriculture, trades, and manufactures, begin to take place of hunting, and the shepherd's life. The introduction of the busy and laborious arts has considerably abated that poetical enthusiasm which is better suited to a vacant and indolent state. The fondness of reciting their old poems decays; the custom of teaching them to their children is fallen into desuetude; and few are now to be found, except old men, who can rehearse from memory any considerable parts of them.

For these particulars, concerning the state of the Highlands and the transmission of Ossian's poems, I am indebted to the reverend and very learned and ingenious Mr. John Macpherson, minister of Slate in the Island of Sky, and to the reverend Mr. Donald Macqueen minister of Kilmuir in Sky, Mr. Donald Macleod minister of Glenelg in Invernesshire, Mr. Lewis Grant minister of Duthel in Invernesshire, Mr. Angus Macneil minister of the Island of South Uist, Mr. Neil Macleod minister of

Rofs, in the Island of Mull, and Mr. Alexander Macaulay chaplain to the 88th Regiment.

The honourable colonel Hugh Mackay of Big-house in the Shire of Sutherland, Donald Campbell of Airds in Argyleshire, Esq; Æneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh in Invernessshire, Esq; and Ronald Macdonnell of Keappoch in Lochaber, Esq; captain in the 87th regiment commanded by colonel Fraser, all concur in testifying that Mr. Macpherson's collection consists of genuine Highland poems; known to them to be such, both from the general report of the country where they live, and from their own remembrance of the originals. Colonel Mackay asserts very positively, upon personal knowledge, that many of the poems published by Mr. Macpherson are true and faithful translations. Mr. Campbell declares that he has heard many of them, and captain Macdonnell, that he has heard parts of every one of them recited in the original language.

James Grant of Rothiemurchus, Esq; and Alexander Grant, of Delrachny, Esq; both in the Shire of Inverness, desired to be named as vouchers for the poem of Fingal in particular. They remember to have heard it often in their younger days, and are positive that Mr. Macpherson has given a just translation of it.

Lauchlan Macpherson of Strathmashie in Invernessshire, Esq; gives a very full and explicit testimony, from particular knowledge, in the following words: that in the year 1760, he accompanied Mr. Macpherson during some part of his journey through the Highlands in search of the poems of Ossian; that he assisted him in collecting them; that he took down from oral tradition, and transcribed from old manuscripts by far the greatest part of those pieces Mr. Macpherson has published;

lished; that since the publication he has carefully compared the translation with the copies of the originals in his hands; and that he finds it amazingly literal, even to such a degree as often to preserve the cadence of the Galic versification. He affirms, that among the manuscripts which were at that time in Mr. Macpherson's possession, he saw one of as old a date as the year 1410.

Sir James Macdonald of Macdonald, in the Island of Sky, Baronet, assured me, that after having made, at my desire, all the enquiries he could in his part of the country, he entertained no doubt that Mr. Macpherson's collection consisted entirely of authentic Highland poems; that he had lately heard several parts of them repeated in the original, in the Island of Sky, with some variations from the printed translation, such as might naturally be expected from the circumstances of oral tradition; and some parts, in particular the episode of Fainafollis in the third book of Fingal, which agree literally with the translation; and added, that he has heard recitations of other poems not translated by Mr. Macpherson, but generally reputed to be of Ossian's composition, which were of the same spirit and strain with such as are translated, and which he esteemed not inferior to any of them in sublimity of description, dignity of sentiment, or any other of the beauties of poetry. This last particular must have great weight; as it is well known how much the judgment of Sir James Macdonald deserves to be relied upon, in every thing that relates to literature and taste.

The late reverend Mr. Alexander Macfarlane, minister of Arrachar in Dumbartonshire, who was remarkably eminent for his profound knowledge in Galic learning and antiquities, wrote to me soon after the publication of Mr. Macpherson's work,

terming it, a masterly translation; informing me that he had often heard several of these poems in the original, and remarked many passages so particularly striking beyond any thing he had ever read in any human composition, that he never expected to see a strength of genius able to do them that justice in a translation, which Mr. Macpherson has done.

Norman Macleod of Macleod, in the Island of Sky, Esq; Walter Macfarlane of Macfarlane in Dumbartonshire, Esq; Mr. Alexander Macmillan, deputy keeper of his Majesty's signet, Mr. Adam Fergusson, professor of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and many other gentlemen natives of the Highland counties, whom I had occasion to converse with upon this subject, declare, that though they cannot now repeat from memory any of these poems in the original, yet from what they have heard in their youth, and from the impression of the subject still remaining on their minds, they firmly believe those which Mr. Macpherson has published, to be the old poems of Ossian current in the country.

Desirous, however, to have this translation particularly compared with the oral editions of any who had parts of the original distinctly on their memory, I applied to several clergymen to make enquiry in their respective parishes concerning such persons; and to compare what they rehearsed with the printed version. Accordingly, from the reverend Mr. John Macpherson minister of Slate in Sky, Mr. Neil Macleod minister of Ross in Mull, Mr. Angus Macneil minister of South Uist, Mr. Donald Macqueen minister of Kilmuir in Sky, and Mr. Donald Macleod minister of Glenelg, I have had reports on this head, containing distinct and explicit testimonies to almost the whole  
epic

epic poem of Fingal, from beginning to end, and to several also of the lesser poems, as rehearsed in the original, in their presence, by persons whose names and places of abode they mention, and compared by themselves with the printed translation. They affirm that in many places, what was rehearsed in their presence agreed literally and exactly with the translation. In some places they found variations from it, and variations even among different rehearsers of the same poem in the original; as words and stanzas omitted by some which others repeated, and the order and connection in some places changed. But they remark, that these variations are on the whole not very material; and that Mr. Macpherson seemed to them to follow the most just and authentic copy of the sense of his author. Some of these clergymen, particularly Mr. Neil Macleod, can themselves repeat from memory several passages of Fingal; the translation of which they assure me is exact. Mr. Donald Macleod acquaints me, that it was in his house Mr. Macpherson had the description of Cuchullin's horses and chariot, in the first book of Fingal, given him by Allan Macaskill schoolmaster. Mr. Angus Macneil writes, that Mr. Macdonald, a parishioner of his, declares, that he has often seen and read a great part of an ancient manuscript, once in the possession of the family of Clanronald, and afterwards carried to Ireland, containing many of these poems, and that he rehearsed before him several passages out of Fingal, which agreed exactly with Mr. Macpherson's translation; that Neil Macmurrich, whose predecessors had for many generations been bards to the family of Clanronald, declared also in his presence, that he had often seen and read the same old manuscript; that he himself, gave to Mr. Macpherson a manuscript

containing some of the poems which are now translated and published, and rehearsed before Mr. Macneil in the original, the whole of the poem entitled *Dar-thula*, with very little variation from the printed translation. I have received the same testimony concerning this poem, *Dar-thula*, from Mr. Macpherson minister of Slate; and in a letter communicated to me from Lieutenant Duncan Macnicol, of the 88th regiment, informing me of its being recited in the original, in their presence, from beginning to end: On which I lay the more stress, as any person of taste who turns to that poem will see, that it is one of the most highly finished in the whole collection, and most distinguished for poetical and sentimental beauties; inso-much, that whatever genius could produce *Dar-thula*, must be judged fully equal to any performance contained in Mr. Macpherson's publication. I must add here, that though they who have compared the translation with what they have heard rehearsed of the original, bestow high praises both upon Mr. Macpherson's genius and his fidelity; yet I find it to be their general opinion, that in many places he has not been able to attain to the strength and sublimity of the original which he copied.

I have authority to say, in the name of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Macnab of the 88th regiment, or regiment of Highland Volunteers commanded by colonel Campbell, that he has undoubted evidence of Mr. Macpherson's collection being genuine, both from what he well remembers to have heard in his youth, and from his having heard very lately a considerable part of the poem of *Temora* rehearsed in the original, which agreed exactly with the printed version.

By the reverend Mr. Alexander Pope minister of Reay, in the shire of Caithness, I am informed,  
that



that twenty-four years ago, he had begun to make a collection of some of the old poems current in his part of the country; on comparing which, with Mr. Macpherson's work, he found in his collection the poem intitled, the battle of Lora, some parts of Lathmon, and the account of the death of Oscar. From the above mentioned Lieutenant Duncan Macnicol, testimonies have been also received to a great part of Fingal, to part of Temora, and Carric-thura, as well as to the whole of Dar-thula, as recited in his presence in the original, compared, and found to agree with the translation.

I myself read over the greatest part of the English version of the six books of Fingal, to Mr. Keneth Macpherson of Stornoway in the Island of Lewis, merchant, in presence of the reverend Mr. Alexander Macaulay chaplain to the 88th regiment. In going along Mr. Macpherson vouched what was read to be well known to him in the original, both the descriptions and the sentiments. In some places, though he remembered the story, he did not remember the words of the original; in other places, he remembered and repeated the Galic lines themselves, which, being interpreted to me by Mr. Macaulay, were found, upon comparison, to agree often literally with the printed version, and sometimes with slight variations of a word or an epithet. This testimony carried to me, and must have carried to any other who had been present, the highest conviction; being precisely a testimony of that nature which an Englishman well acquainted with Milton, or any favourite author, would give to a foreigner, who shewed him a version of this author into his own language, and wanted to be satisfied from what the Englishman could recollect of the original, whether it was really a translation of Paradise Lost, or a spurious work under that title which had been put into his hands. The

The above-mentioned Mr. Alexander Macaulay, Mr. Adam Ferguffon professor of moral philology, and Mr. Alexander Frafer, governor to Francis Stuart, Esq; inform me, that at several different times they were with Mr. Macpherfon, after he had returned from his journey through the Highlands, and whilst he was employed in the work of translating; that they looked into his manuscripts, several of which had the appearance of being old; that they were fully satisfied of their being genuine Highland poems; that they compared the translation in many places with the original; and they attest it to be very just and faithful, and remarkably literal.

It has been thought worth while to bestow this attention on establishing the authenticity of the works of Ossian, now in possession of the public: Because whatever rank they are allowed to hold as works of genius; whatever different opinions may be entertained concerning their poetical merit, they are unquestionably valuable in another view; as monuments of the taste and manners of an ancient age, as useful materials for enlarging our knowledge of the human mind and character; and must, beyond all dispute, be held, as at least, one of the greatest curiosities, which have at any time enriched the republick of letters. More testimonies to them might have been produced by a more enlarged correspondence with the Highland counties: But I apprehend, if any apology is necessary, it is for producing so many names in a question, where the consenting silence of a whole country, was to every unprejudiced person, the strongest proof, that spurious compositions, in the name of that country, had not been obtruded upon the world.













